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Reagan, Gorbachov leave Reykjavik empty-handed

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Reykjavik is the stuff of legend. The tiny conference venue will go down in history as a place where the US and Soviet leaders failed to reconcile their views on the price of equal security.

They could have halved the number of strategic weapons and agreed to withdraw all medium-range missiles from Europe. But that proved too ambitious a target.

A full-scale compromise foundered, on the face of it, on President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI).

Mr Gorbachov wanted to see SDI scrapped once and for all and linked progress on all other issues to what— empty-handed. Both leaders certainly amounted to an SDI ultimatum.

President Reagan went some way toward meeting the Soviet leader's demands but refused to do so to the point of what he saw as virtual surrender.

He was prepared to scale down his anti-missile defence shield, adjusting it to changing circumstances as nuclear stockpiles were reduced, but not abandoning it entirely.

The history of arms control agreements with the Soviet Union had persuaded the US President that an "insurance policy" was the best guarantee that new agreements would be observed.

The latest offer came to grief in a crisis of confidence. President Reagan lacked confidence in Mr Gorbachov's willingness and ability to carry out and strictly observe large-scale cuts without the pressure SDI might exert.

Mr Gorbachov wasn't prepared to settle for anything less and mistrusted the US offer of a share, at some future date, in the American nuclear shield.

Dramatic phrases such as a historic or missed opportunity are sure to fuel the imagination and make more difficult the sober appraisal that is needed.

But for the sake of future negotiations, and future negotiations there will certainly be, it is important to take a closer look at the failure that was Reykjavik.

Was it prepared too hastily and in too amateurish a manner? Was it held too inconsistently or did it unpredictably turn out to be a trap?

Was Rekjavik Mr Gorbachov's revised version of the "fireside summit"?

On his arrival in Iceland the Soviet leader could read for himself in every American newspaper how he had been outwitted in Geneva last year and forced to return home empty-handed.

That was his handicap, and the presence of the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Akhromeyev, underlined it.

Reykjavik was an experiment. Its purpose was to show whether a full summit in America would be worth Russia's while.

For the time being there won't be one, any more than agreement will be reached on disarmament. The envisaged fillips for the Geneva arms limitation negotiators failed to materialise.

Was this all the result of the American refusal to abandon a research programme of which no-one knows whether it will achieve the hoped-for results?

That is the view Mr Reagan's critics are sure to hold. Mr Gorbachov, having starting to point an accusing finger in the Icelandic capital, will do his best to reinforce the impression.

President Reagan, he said, had come left Reykjavik empty-handed.

The dispute will now be transferred to the propaganda level, concentrating on Western Europe as it did in the missile modernisation debate.

Yet the summit had a dynamism and favourable omens of its own. Both sides felt some headway had been made, as the White House spokesman put it, right up till the indeterminate conclusion.

The US and Soviet leaders seemed as sure to reach promising initial agreement as we must now wonder what further progress can be expected during the remainder of Mr Reagan's Presidency.

At the very last minute the individual clues of thread tied up in a hopeless knot. Mr Gorbachov's linkage, a basic pattern from the outset, took firm shape.

The two leaders' original aim, that of defining points of possible agreement, grew increasingly remote.

Assuming they held their talks in good faith and there was no reversion to the Russian tactics of old, promising the earth and then demanding last-minute special concessions, the two leaders must be said to have failed as crisis managers.

When they parted in disappointment they lacked the momentum to pave the way for a solution, and when the great leap forward failed to materialise, minor progress fell by the wayside too.

Mr Gorbachov promptly hinted that he would be studying the reaction in America and elsewhere.

President Reagan might expect to encounter media criticism but could hope to benefit from a wave of patriotic support at home.

The Americans will show understanding for their President's behaviour; the Europeans will find it more difficult to understand.

Mr Gorbachov will pay careful attention to the effect of Reykjavik on Nato, to its domestic effect (up to and including the German general election campaign) and to the unpredictable behaviour of the US Congress.

If SDI fails to long outlive the Reagan era, with Congress axing budget allocations, the Soviet leader can calmly wait until Mr Reagan's successor takes office.

If Nato solidarity shows signs of swerving he need be in no hurry in Geneva either.

A divided West arguing about birds in the bush rather than pursuing the encouraging pointers at Reykjavik by means of energetic diplomacy would be a feeble negotiating partner.

Leo Wieland

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 October 1986)

Chancellor Kohl (left) and Prime Minister Strauss of Bavaria (right) at the CDU party conference in Mainz (see page 3) (Photo: Sven Simon)

CSU holds its own in Bavaria

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss's Christian Social Union retained its absolute majority in the state assembly elections, polling 55.8 per cent.

The Opposition Social Democrats polled 27.5 per cent, their poorest showing since the war, and the Free Democrats failed again to make a comeback in Bavaria, polling 3.8 per cent.

The Greens succeeded at their second attempt, polling 7.5 per cent and joining the SPD on the Opposition benches in Munich.

So there would seem to be few outward signs of change in Bavaria, with Herr Strauss and his party retaining an enviable majority.

But he can abandon hopes of dictating terms to Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats in Bonn on the strength of his showing in the Alpine state.

Herr Strauss can derive scant comfort from the poor performance of the Social Democrats under new leadership in Bavaria; they were never a serious challenge in any case.

The Greens' success is another matter. Clashes over the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf, Bavaria, benefited them, arguably to the SPD's detriment.

But the CSU lost heavily to smaller parties, including one that can be considered to represent the CSU opposition to Herr Strauss.

Given the Greens' undeniable success, the Free Democrats must be particularly galled by their failure.

They need not draw inferences as to their likely showing in next January's general election, but they can hardly feel encouraged.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 October 1986)

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

US Congress upstages Europe on South Africa sanctions

When European Community Foreign Ministers agreed in mid-September on a mini-package of sanctions against South Africa they called it a "political initiative" in a bid to paper over its paucity.

Their "initiative" was aimed at fostering dialogue between all races in the apartheid state and at promising the blacks European support.

The Twelve also appealed to other countries such as the United States and Japan to act in concert with the Europeans of all people.

European Community Ministers are unlikely for a moment to have foreseen how soon the limited moves they had undertaken against the apartheid fanatics would be overtaken by moves of much greater significance.

Hardly had their Brussels appeal had time to cross the Atlantic but the US Congress showed its mettle and put together a sanctions package worthier of the name.

The Europeans have badly miscalculated. In their dispute over whether or not to ban imports of South African coal Bonn and Lisbon in particular argued that such a punitive measure would be to little or no point because America and Japan would not follow suit.

President Reagan was no less reluctant than European Community countries to impose sanctions on Pretoria, but in the end even his veto failed to deter Congress.

While the European Community made do with an import ban on iron, steel and gold coins and a ban on fresh investment in South Africa, the US Congress had no qualms about adding coal (more important) and uranium (more sensitive) to the list.

The US embargo also applies to agricultural produce, excluded by the European Community at this summer's Hague summit for the sake of Portuguese farmers who emigrated to South Africa when Mozambique gained independence.

When further US moves are borne in mind (and they include an end to air transport, a ban on computer exports and a freeze on South African bank deposits), the European Community cuts a poor figure.

True, Japan has yet to make a move, but the United States is South Africa's foremost trading partner, so its sanctions weigh particularly heavily.

In the final analysis the Europeans stand to derive scant benefit from nitpicking in respect of Congressional motives.

Some Congressmen may indeed have been tempted to make political mileage out of opposing the President with midterm elections coming up. Others may have felt tempted to teach President Reagan a lesson.

The Congressional package cannot entirely eliminate doubts in general as to whether sanctions are effective.

But what really, almost solely, counts is the decision on Capitol Hill to take a firm stand against the apartheid regime.

Congress has set a yardstick the Europeans cannot afford to ignore, so the debate on punitive measures against Pretoria can be sure to resume before long.

The European Community summit to be held early in December in London could well be as dominated by sanctions as the June summit in The Hague was.

The mid-September package was intended to demonstrate European anti-apartheid credibility. It failed by a wide margin.

Initial estimates indicated that the sanctions adopted (iron, steel and Kruger rand imports) would not account for more than 6.2 per cent of European Community imports from South Africa.

Subsequent estimates by the European Commission in Brussels suggest that the September sanctions will affect only 2.6 per cent of European trade with South Africa.

The US Congress listed goods accounting for roughly four times as much, thereby sounding the intended warning.

Klaus Bohnhof

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 8 October 1986)

Sunken Soviet sub incident

The abandoned Soviet nuclear submarine took two power reactors and probably 16 strategic missiles with it to the seabed.

Experts in East and West were at *pains to assure all and sundry there was* no radioactive danger. The risk of contamination both now and in a few years' time was said to be very slight.

The protective cladding of the reactor or the warheads might arguably leak as a result of either the immediate impact or years of corrosion.

Radioactivity might then be released, but a nuclear chain reaction was ruled out, and contamination was unlikely to reach danger levels.

Yet the Soviet nuclear sub incident showed that despite post-Chernobyl assurances serious damage or catastrophes cannot be ruled out in either peaceful or military uses of atomic energy.

The Kremlin abandoned its previous practice and notified the United States almost immediately, but that may only mean Moscow feared a serious nuclear catastrophe might happen.

Coming days before the Reykjavik summit, the nuclear sub incident off the US eastern seaboard called to mind a category that must not be overlooked in the superpowers' disarmament talks.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 7 October 1986)



Gerold von Braunmühl

(Photo: AP)

Senseless murder of civil servant shakes German public opinion

Chief public prosecutor Kurt Rebmann has variously warned of late that Germany's left-wing terrorists are at least as strong as they were in 1977.

That was the year they murdered Herr Rebmann's predecessor, Siegfried Buback, banker Jürgen Ponto and employers' leader Hanns Martin Schleyer.

They were all killed by members of the "old" RAF, or Red Army Faction. Most people have failed to take Herr Rebmann's warning seriously.

In murdering Gerold von Braunmühl, a Foreign Office official previously known only to insiders in Bonn, the successors of the "old" RAF have demonstrated the coldblooded determination and brutality of their modus operandi.

After a phase in which they mainly murdered leading executives of the *industrial system they so hated*, the last victim being Karl-Heinz Beckurts of Siemens, they now evidently feel strong enough to strike at the country's political heart.

Security officials have long expected this development, although they weren't expecting senior civil servants as well as politicians to be the target.

While the manhunt went ahead at full speed after the murder of Siemens executive Beckurts, the terrorists were carefully checking the day-to-day moves of their next victim.

Braunmühl is the first civil servant to be assassinated virtually on his doorstep. The killers showed such ice-cold routine that they not only didn't hurt a hair of the taxi driver but also quietly disappeared with their victim's briefcase.

Like the Beckurts case the latest murder indicates that the killers kept a careful watch on their victim and knew exactly when and how he usually went home.

The professional manner in which the two men were murdered is appalling. The killers seem so sure of themselves. What other explanation can there possibly be for the brazen way in which they seem to have used the same typewriter and gun for years?

There was, of course, method in the murder of Herr von Braunmühl. There can be no misunderstanding the message of a civil servant who is *neither chauffeur-driven* nor police-escorted being machine-gunned.

It is that no-one *in politics* or its environs can afford to feel safe any more. Fear and trembling are to be the constant companions of Bonn civil servants.

Fear may gain momentum because politicians, although they may be able to boost security precautions, can never achieve absolute safety. The state can defend itself in many ways but not even it can guarantee security.

It cannot provide thousands of civil servants with police protection from terrorists who prepare for their attacks most carefully and with the utmost brutality.

The range of potential terrorist victims has increased almost beyond comprehension, and the psychological effect of terror can be expected to increase accordingly.

Appalled though people may have been by earlier murders, most have been quick to console themselves with the thought that they themselves are not in the limelight and thus lead safer lives than "the powers that be."

The terrorists have now broken and entered this zone of peace and quiet.

Unrest is just as likely to *result from* the realisation that despite spectacular successes the police have so far failed by and large in their *terrorist* manhunt.

Today's RAF terrorists live quiet lives, have enough points of contact *at home* and abroad and leave virtually *no traces* behind them.

Their success at covering their tracks and evading the clutches of the well-equipped police is sure to make people even more nervous and to add fuel to the general election campaign debate.

The "old" political parties would do

Continued on page 4

Gandhi: a hair's breadth escape

Rajiv Gandhi's would-be assassin showed a sense of macabre symbolism in trying to shoot the Indian Prime Minister as he laid a wreath on Mahatma Gandhi's grave on the anniversary of the Mahatma's assassination.

He misfired and India escaped yet again by the skin of its teeth. Despite an outward show of calm by Mr Gandhi and his government politicians and security officials in New Delhi were well aware that the assassination of a second Indian Premier in two years could have plunged the sub-continent into turmoil.

It would hardly have mattered whether the assassin or assassins were Sikh extremists, as in Indira Gandhi's case, or merely a psychopath.

When Mrs Gandhi was gunned down her son Rajiv was at the ready to take over. He not only boasted a great name, a point that cannot be overestimated in India; he also proved, much to the surprise of many, a worthy successor to his mother.

With the courage of common sense he succeeded in a few days in quelling the wave of violence between Hindus and Sikhs and in giving his fellow-countrymen a sense of fresh hope.

Sikh terrorism has resurged in Punjab, of course, but — more importantly — who could have taken his place and played a similar role in India today?

A world that for 40 years has associated India mainly with Mahatma Gandhi and his non-violent struggle for independence is usually surprised at the degree of violence and terror Indians are capable of.

Yet India today is a multi-racial country the size of a continent with a full range of social problems extending from the Fourth World to the First.

The dream of an ideal state is not what is needed to lead India toward a better a future. Shrewd and competent politicians are needed, plus more than a stroke of good luck. Luck was on Mr Gandhi's side.

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 3 October 1986)

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PARTY POLITICS

CDU sounds confident at congress



The CDU's pre-election conference in the Rheingoldhalle in Mainz was marked by a mood of optimism.

Party leader Helmut Kohl had no trouble convincing his fellow-delegates that the CDU stood every chance of retaining power in Bonn after the 25 January 1987 general election.

The 781 conference delegates left Mainz the way they came: confident and satisfied.

It might even have been better if Chancellor Kohl had warned against too much self-satisfaction.

The reasons for this optimism are obvious: the presentable successes of a four-year period in government and the gloomy situation of the Social Democrats.

A review of the achievements of the centre-right coalition government does show weak points, above all mass unemployment of over two million.

A more optimistic picture was painted by the CDU before the last general election.

The fact that the SPD's prediction of three million unemployed was way off target, however, means that the CDU can quite fairly "sell" the current unemployment level as a success.

The number of new jobs, on the other hand, 600,000 in four years, shows that the fight against unemployment has not completely been to no avail.

Other assets of the current government are economic growth, monetary stability, the slowing down of new government borrowings and the safeguarding of pensions.

Voters are bound to have noticed these facts and will act accordingly on polling day.

If nothing really unexpected happens before 25 January Chancellor Kohl's coalition government can expect to return to power.

The SPD is aware of this fact, which explains why the optimism regained during its party congress in Nuremberg has already vanished.

If the general public is by and large optimistic the opposition parties can talk as pessimistically as they want. Nobody listens.

What is more, voters don't believe that the SPD can gain an absolute majority.

And who wants a Red-Green coalition? Not even the SPD's Shadow Chancellor, Johannes Rau.

The CDU, however, knows that a good past record alone is not enough to overcome the problems it will have to face up to in the future.

New issues will and have already appeared on the scene, and equally new solutions will be needed.

The CDU's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, has taken up the challenge of the future. Others in his party, including those in top positions, still seem to be sleeping!

Manifesto of the future

The "Manifesto of the Future" is no proof to the contrary, since this paper would not have been otherwise adopted at this moment in time had the CSU already given its blessing to a joint election programme with the CDU.

The manifesto, therefore, is no more than a "makeshift paper," even though it does contain a number of ideas well worth discussing.

The flexibilisation of working life is one, for example, ranging from the duration of working life to the number of weekly and daily working hours.

The manifesto also expresses its unequivocal support for technological progress.

As opposed to the fears voiced by the SPD, the CDU emphasises the opportunities provided by new technologies.

This clearly does justice to the "C" (Christian) in the CDU. In God we trust?

Cardinal Joseph Höffner's clear words on nuclear energy, however, underline that the CDU is running the risk of painting too rosy a picture of the future.

A significant factor in this respect may be the blind faith shown by some delegates and rank-and-file CDU mem-

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Greens review relationship with SPD in Nuremberg

Lübecker Nachrichten

In the very Nuremberg hall where Johannes Rau and his Social Democrats had previously held their congress the Greens palavered for three days about their relationship with the SPD.

While realising they can only implement their policy objectives with the help of a political partner (the SPD), the Greens find it difficult to make it clear to the party's loyal and potential supporters why they shouldn't vote for the SPD in the first place.

The moderate members of the Greens (the "Realos") call the whole affair a *Koalitionsaussage*, meaning a discussion on the party's basic position with respect to possible coalitions with other parties.

Independence with regard to its own programmatic goals and the risk of self-surrender when attempting to form a coalition; this is and will remain the dilemma of all small political parties.

It's easy enough to argue about the dilemma in public and even easier to do so behind closed doors.

After all, many of the arguers no longer know whether the whole thing is strategy or tactics, assuming they can distinguish between the two.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that hardly anyone took note of the *fact that a 100-page programme entitled* "Transformation of the Industrial Society" was adopted during the Greens' conference in Nuremberg.

Apart from a few of the ideologically more extreme suggestions, such as the priority of the bicycle over the car in city traffic or the invitation to the needy of the world to come and settle down in the Federal Republic of Germany, the paper was by and large ignored.

The fact that such Green maximalist demands have had an effect on the SPD is more significant.

Who, for example, would have thought it possible just a few months ago that the SPD would unanimously vote for a phaseout of nuclear energy?

And who would have seriously suggested that the SPD would support an alternative defence policy strategy?

Both turnabouts undoubtedly have Green voters in mind and the hope that they may now regard the SPD as a real alternative.

The Greens are going to find it more difficult to dissociate themselves from SPD positions.

Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau *apparently* believes that he can put even more pressure on the Greens by categorically refusing to allow himself to be elected or even tolerated as chancellor with the help of the Greens.

The centre-right voters he seeks to convince will not buy this promise.

Together with the Greens they will ask themselves why something which is possible in a *Land* such as Hesse should not be possible at federal government level in Bonn.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 30 September 1986)

Strauss doesn't rock CDU/CSU boat after all

In the end, antagonism between the CDU and CSU in recent weeks boiled down to a differing characterisation of the coming general election.

During the CDU conference in Mainz Helmut Kohl referred to the election as an "indicative decision" by the electorate, whereas Franz Josef Strauss spoke of a "fateful election."

The moderation shown by the CSU leader came as no surprise to those familiar with Straussian tactics.

The many recent verbal attacks were not apparently aimed at rocking or even overturning the CDU/CSU boat.

By way of compensation for the friendly words he found for the CSU's sister-party Herr Strauss had some pretty nasty things to say to the SPD and the Greens.

He made no mention of whether there would be separate CSU and CDU manifestos or whether the parties would agree on a joint programme.

Herr Kohl is known to be keen on the latter. In Mainz, however, it seemed as if this was no longer a decisive issue for the Chancellor.

Herr Kohl's behaviour in Mainz was that of a federal chancellor who feels confident of staying where he is.

In a steady drone rather than a rousing speech he outlined the CDU's government policy programme for the next four years.

The party for its part has made its chairman a key figure in its election campaign to an extent many would have thought impossible just a few months ago.

In Mainz there were even first signs of a personality cult.

Helmut Kohl is clearly the main man of the conservative parties in this election.

He doesn't need to be afraid of Strauss. And if he's not afraid of him he needn't be afraid of anyone.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 8 October 1986)

No real surprises at the polls in Lower Saxony

An initial and cautious assessment of the results of local government elections in Lower Saxony shows there have been no major surprises.

The CDU, which for the first time managed to obtain over 50 per cent of the votes five years ago, has suffered heavy losses.

Nevertheless, it fared much better than during the state assembly elections in Lower Saxony in June, which were still very much overshadowed by the radioactive clouds from the Ukraine.

The SPD, which recorded an all-time election low in 1981, has regained lost ground.

However, the Social Democrats have not managed to persuade all those voters to return to the fold who turned their backs on the SPD five years ago and who voted for the SPD during the state assembly elections in June.

Local government elections are not test elections, since votes are cast on different issues in different areas.

The overall outcome of local government elections in Lower Saxony, therefore, is more difficult to interpret than the outcome of a state or general election.

In each city, district and municipality voters probably had local politics and the achievements of local politicians in mind rather than politics in Bonn.

After all, this is what local government elections are supposed to be about, and the warnings given by voters to some politicians and the support shown for others are rooted in the qualities of local politicians rather than the appeal of the political parties to which they belong.

Voters in Lower Saxony have brought about a more stable balance of power than during the last elections. In some cases they have enabled new majorities.

The election outcome will necessitate political alliances on town and district councils of the kind already talked about in Bonn.

On some councils the Social Democrats have no option but to form an alliance with the Greens if they want their man to be elected district councillor or mayor.

The CDU will repeatedly wag its finger at such Red-Green coalitions, mainly because the general election is just around the corner.

Another reason is to distract attention from the need to do too much thinking about its own losses.

A party which has been ruffled and shaken by the electorate for the second time in three months, however, has every reason to take a closer self-critical look at itself.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 October 1986)

Is there really an inundation of asylum applicants? Do we really face the threat of more dark-skinned refugees from Africa, Asia and the Middle East than we can handle? Or are we merely being inundated with slogans?

The legal and civic rights committee of the European Parliament has held a hearing on asylum applicants in Brussels in a bid to calm down the waves of emotion and conduct the debate on a more objective level.

The views of all experts heard, from dry law faculty academics to spokesmen for Amnesty International, were virtually unanimous in arguing that there was no reason for panic.

Sober appraisal of the statistics and comparison with neighbouring European countries will, moreover, reveal that trends in Germany are far from alarming.

Very few of the world's 20 million or so refugees find their way to Europe.

The grand total of applicants for asylum in all European Community countries over the past five years amounts to not one quarter of the number of refugees Pakistan alone has housed from Afghanistan since 1978.

Europe has taken in 600,000 refugees, as against the 2.9 million Pakistan,

Länder agree on sensitive issue

Interior Ministers of the *Länder* are agreed in principle that failed applicants for political asylum are now to be deported to crisis areas.

This agreement, crossing party-political lines, is important given that an estimated 70 per cent of aliens whose applications for asylum are turned down continue to live in the Federal Republic.

There may be important reasons in the individual instance — in every individual instance — why they should do so. Refugees may fear for their lives back home or simply come from an East Bloc state.

But the rule of law will in the long run make an ass of itself if the implementation of deportation orders is the exception, not the rule.

The losers will include those who are genuinely political refugees and whose applications for asylum are bona fide.

Christian and Social Democratic-ruled *Länder* have agreed to abide by standard deportation procedures, and that can only be to the benefit of a sensitive issue, especially during a general election campaign.

Wolfgang Bok

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 October 1986)

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well not to succumb to the temptation to capitalise on these fears. The state and public stand only to benefit from politicians who are agreed on security measures.

They must resist the temptation to accuse others of transforming the country into a police state, whereas they themselves seek to defend the Federal Republic by strictly constitutional means.

No-one can afford to be unmoved by the Braunmühl murder.

Neither political parties nor the general public can now simply return to business as usual. Left-wing circles ought no longer to feel quietly jubilant either.

The murder of a civil servant will certainly bring the terrorists no nearer their target of destabilising the state and gaining support of the masses.

There may be method in their murders, but their terror is pointless.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 October 1986)

HUMAN RIGHTS

Asylum: Europe must set the world an example



a poor developing country, has given shelter.

Yet the growing number of asylum applicants has alarmed European public opinion in recent months, especially German opinion.

In 1983 there were 67,000 applicants for asylum in the European Community. Last year 170,000 refugees arrived, and this year seems sure to set up a new record.

In some European countries the limit of what has so far been organisationally and financially possible seems to have been reached. Small wonder governments and politicians have taken to wondering how to handle the problem!

No European Community member-country has yet passed new legislation or constitutional amendments to limit the right of asylum, the Brussels hearing revealed. Existing legislation is applied more strictly instead.

Members of the European Parliament are worried by the growing trend to enforce existing provisions more strictly. Two years ago the legal and civic rights committee commissioned from Socialist Heinz Oskar Vetter, former general secretary of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union congress, a report on the situation of asylum applicants in European Community countries.

The Vetter Report has been completed and will shortly be published. The European Parliament hearing was able to use some of its findings.

The Federal Republic would do well to bear in mind some of the findings arrived at by the Brussels hearing. They differ substantially from the policies pursued by a number of *Länder*.

The deterrent effect of housing applicants in camps, not allowing them to work and making entry and application procedures more complicated, was agreed to be zero in the long term.

Refugees from hardship, war, torture and political persecution are not going to be deterred by organisational hindrances, inconveniences and deliberate obstacles.

So the hearing opposed housing applicants in camps and was largely opposed to work bans and welfare payments in kind, not cash.

The experts failed to draw a clear line between abuse of the right of asylum and bona fide refugees' rights. Definitions proved extremely difficult.

Who is politically persecuted? Who is a refugee? All the experts were agreed on was that the old definitions in the 1951 Geneva convention and the 1967 protocol on refugees were no longer adequate.

The Vietnamese boat people are surely victims of an inhuman regime even though they may not individually be able to prove they were politically persecuted.

Are young Iranian draft-dodgers in breach of the right of asylum for going into exile to avoid being used as cannon fodder by the mullahs in the Gulf War?

Hardship, natural disasters and the threat of torture are sufficient ground for seeking refugee status, speakers at the Brussels hearing agreed. But where is the line to be drawn?

Governments have so far been unable in practice to come up with a clear answer. Refugees who are clearly politically persecuted are not the problem; they are generally granted asylum.

De facto refugees are the problem, people who have reason to fear death, torture, violation of human rights and an inhuman political regime back home but are unable to prove in detail that they were persecuted on account of their political views, race or religion.

In practice people in this category, such as the Vietnamese boat people, Sri Lankan Tamils and refugees from Iran, Afghanistan and Lebanon, are often not granted asylum. They are merely tolerated, as in the Federal Republic.

The situation of de facto refugees, illegal in status and with no rights of their own, was agreed to be badly in need of improvement.

The intolerably long time it takes to process asylum applications, particularly in the Federal Republic, must be reduced. Deliberate obstacles must be eliminated.

Europe, Herr Vetter said, must set the world an example and guarantee the upholding of human rights and protection of refugees.

Thomas Gack

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 29 September 1986)

Constitutional conundrum stymies Bonn

Asylum is an issue discussed almost entirely from a humanitarian viewpoint in the Federal Republic of Germany. Constitutional problems go virtually unnoticed.

The debate fails to take into account that the Parliamentary Council incorporated the basic right of asylum in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, at a time when the Federal Republic seemed unlikely ever to have anything other than a net outflow of migrants.

A decision was thus reached on a special German constitutional provision that is now proving extremely difficult.

Until the 1960s asylum was of no more than theoretical importance, if that. In the 1950s Professor Carlo Schmid, one of the men who drafted Basic Law and the right of asylum, wrote a book on basic rights in which the right of asylum was not even mentioned.

We are painfully aware today of a point the Parliamentary Council failed to appreciate.

The right of asylum was formulated as an individual right enjoyed by a persecuted alien, making it impossible for parliament or the government to define it in greater detail.

In other words, the constitutional right of asylum surrendered a substantial feature of German sovereignty.

The right of asylum is a basic right binding on parliament and the administration and guaranteed by law.

A number of basic rights such as the right to property are defined by law and other rights can be limited by legal provisions.

In contrast, Article 16 of Basic Law guarantees the right of asylum unconditionally. Parliament can merely lay down procedures by which the right can be claimed.

The definition of what constitutes political persecution is a matter strictly for the courts, not for parliament or the government.

No other comparable countries have gone this far. All make the tight of entry for aliens subject to executive and legislative provisions.

This is an expression of territorial sovereignty as understood in international law for centuries.

Unlike the Federal Republic, other countries reserve the right to decide who is a desirable alien, this being a right that can be indispensable on both foreign and domestic policy grounds.

The refusal by other countries that cannot be accused of being insensitive to the fate of the politically persecuted to acknowledge an unconditional right of asylum is intended to allow political leaders to react to changing situations.

By the end of the 1960s politicians and constitutional lawyers realised that the well-meaning and far-reaching German right of asylum was ideally suited for immigration and abuse.

Many Yugoslavs applied for political asylum and joined the ranks of migrant workers recruited to fill job vacancies in a booming German economy.

The number of asylum applicants increased to 4,000 a year, only to decline dramatically in 1968 when an agreement on migrant workers was signed with Belgrade.

The link between immigration and the right of asylum was particularly striking when, in 1973, the Federal government imposed a ban on recruitment of migrant workers.

The number of asylum applicants has since steadily increased, peaking dramatically in 1980 when over 100,000 applicants arrived.

The basic right of asylum was in heavy weather and the authorities were virtually no longer able to cope with the situation.

When standards are overstretched by reality, the law tends to be amended to remedy the situation. But an unconditional constitutional right cannot be amended so readily.

Constitutional amendments require a two-thirds majority, and the Social and Free Democrats are not prepared to endorse an amendment on this issue.

When leading politicians, including Helmut Schmidt, called in 1980 for the right of asylum to be redefined so as to better rule out abuse they encountered opposition from both the Free Democrats and the churches, who feel the Federal Republic has still not reached the limit of its capacity to house asylum applicants.

As long as Social Democrats and Liberals are not prepared to amend the right of asylum and restore parliamentary leeway, the politically and constitutionally unsatisfactory position will continue.

For the time being the Federal Constitutional Court is the only hope of a change of mind.

Aware of the reluctance of legislators to amend Basic Law, the court has been known to rule that a constitutional provision can change in meaning when unforeseen facts appear in a new light.

Werner Birkenmaier

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 October 1986)

BERLIN

East is East and West is West — will they ever meet in divided city?

Berlin, 750 years old next year, is still very much an anomaly. Mr Gorbachov may attend the anniversary celebrations. So may President Reagan, Mrs Thatcher or M. Mitterrand.

Whether Mayor Diepgen of West Berlin will meet Mayor Krack of East Berlin is another matter.

If they were to meet in connection with the ambitious anniversary celebration programmes on both sides it would be the first time they have done so and much less likely than a superpower summit.

The East German leader and GDR organising committee chairman Erich Honecker may have surprisingly and, on the face of it, genially announced at the end of September that:

"It is for us a matter of course to invite the Governing Mayor and Opposition leader of Berlin (West) to the official ceremony on 23 October 1987."

But this offer could only too easily turn out to have been merely the latest move in a never-ending Berlin story of recognition and non-recognition and of a Berlin-style Hallstein Doctrine.

Never-ending story

It is a tale of Eastern claims to capital city status and Western dreams of *Land* status and of both sides being extremely reluctant to yield as much as an inch.

The never-ending story begins with the Western view that in principle there is no Oberbürgermeister of East Berlin.

The Western view is that the city's special status still applies to Greater Berlin and that the Governing Mayor is, by the terms of the 1950 Berlin constitution, responsible for the city as a whole.

Constitutional traditions are taken so seriously that the electorate in both parts of the city is reviewed before each election to ensure proper allocation of seats.

The House of Representatives is planned to have 200 seats. So many members are elected in the West and the remainder are left open.

Last year, for instance, 119 members were elected to represent boroughs in West Berlin, leaving 81 seats open pending reunification.

The subject is taken so seriously that the Federal government, the Berlin Senate and the Western Allies join forces in briefing Western visitors to the East what not to do in East Berlin.



They are not to do anything that might lend support to the GDR's claim to East Berlin as its capital city, such as visiting Mayor Krack or signing the Golden Book.

They must not sign documents, even on minor protocol matters, that might make East Berlin out to be either the GDR capital or an integral part of the GDR.

On no account must they visit the Eastern side of the Berlin Wall. Offenders are severely reprimanded, although not in public.

The other side has proved no less tough in jockeying for position.

Since Mr Khrushchev threatened in 1958 to regard West Berlin as a free city and separate entity East Bloc status fighters have done their best to make it as hard as possible for West Berliners to lay claim to the ties they feel they have with the Federal Republic.

To this day views differ on whether the 1971 Four-Power Agreement refers to *Bindungen* (ties) or to *Verbindungen* (links) between Berlin and the Federal Republic.

The ink on the agreement was not dry when the Soviet Union made its position dramatically clear at the end of 1971.

A group of Soviet mayors planned to visit the Federal Republic. To avoid insuperable hurdles it was agreed that they would visit West Berlin on the last leg of their tour.

Instead they returned straight home from Bremen, missing out West Berlin because, they said, they had run short of time.

That upset has still not been forgotten, which may be why the experts at Schöneberg *Rathaus* took such a dim view of Herr Honecker's televised invitation to Governing Mayor Diepgen to visit the anniversary celebrations in East Berlin.

Was this, they may have wondered, to be the latest version of the East Bloc's three-state theory of Germany consisting of East Germany, West Germany and West Berlin as a special entity?

It almost looks as though the game of chess over invitations to attend the anniversary celebrations has come to an end after the first few moves.

The GDR organising committee invited a number of mayors from the Federal Republic but pointedly failed to invite Herr Diepgen, then threatened to give him "special treatment."

Mayor Diepgen has invited his colleagues in Rostock, Dresden, Magdeburg and Leipzig to attend a meeting of mayors in West Berlin but has preferred for the time being not to invite Mayor Krack from East Berlin, arguably an obvious choice.

Both the Opposition and his coalition partners, the Free Democrats, have urged him to take heart in Deutschlandpolitik rather than vacillate from misgiving to reservation and back.

Opposition leader Walter Momper, SPD leader in the House of Representatives, has at least broken the ice, saying he will happily accept Herr Honecker's invitation — if Western Allied representatives also attend.

They have the final say in the divided city, but they are not going to ignore the wishes of the powers that be in West Berlin.

In 1981 Governing Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel decided to disregard niceties of protocol and return Schinkel statues to where they used to stand in what is now East Berlin.

The result was an honest-to-goodness exchange of art treasures between the two parts of the city.

In 1983 Governing Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker decided to set protocol aside and confer with Herr Honecker in East Berlin. That, he felt, was plain common sense and anything but an occasion of profound and momentous significance.

The Western Allies long frowned on his decision to go ahead and meet the East German leader in East Berlin, yet the GDR has yet to make the encounter out to have had the slightest international legal significance.

Anniversary celebrations in both parts of the city are surely worth another attempt to make contact. Events on both sides are mere municipal festivities, and not even the official ceremony in East Berlin can be said to have the slightest international legal or other overriding significance.

Not for nothing

No list of visitors invited to attend by either side can have the slightest effect on the city's status, and not for nothing do diplomatic channels exist as a means of reaching agreement on details.

Even *Der Tagesspiegel*, a West Berlin daily newspaper that is generally cautious on status issues, has voiced hopes of a "plausible way" of taking up Herr Honecker's invitation to Herr Diepgen being found.

The paper's leader-writer made encouraging noises, saying that "in Berlin much can be possible that ought, on the face of it, not to be possible."

That is true enough, but only if both sides seriously want it to be the case. Their next opportunity may not be until 2036 and the city's 800th anniversary.

Otto Jörg Weis

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 October 1986)

Continued from page 3

bers in the politicians "up there in Bonn doing things right."

It is above all the task of Heiner Geissler and kindred spirits to make sure that politics is not just viewed on a day-to-day basis.

Herr Geissler has already announced the party's demands for a greater say in the shaping of party policies.

Now that the "clearing-up operations" of the past four years are finished it's time for more active politics.

Such demands will probably be hotly disputed within the CDU.

But if the party doesn't face up to the task of overcoming the problems of the future it doesn't deserve the confidence of the electorate.

Heinz-Peter Finke

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 9 October 1986)

Anniversary year: so much in common yet poles apart

The wording of programmes in the two halves of Berlin presenting celebrations to mark next year's 750th anniversary of the city's foundation is often virtually identical.

Parallels also occur in the many individual events, especially in the arts sector, with some guest performances being given on both sides of the Wall.

The more popular events have points in common even though programmes have not been coordinated, the GDR refusing to do so.

But East and West Berlin are poles apart when it comes to the political interpretation they attach to the anniversary.

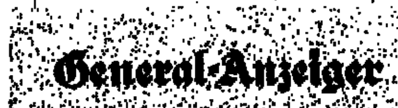
"The salient feature of the 750th anniversary programme," the West Berlin Senate prefaced its package, "is the political stand taken on past, present and future."

"The anniversary affords an ample opportunity of taking a closer look at both Berlin's past 750 years and its present and future," said East German leader Erich Honecker.

There is little to choose between the two statements, but the views to which they refer are irreconcilable.

"Berlin," the West says, "remains the only conceivable capital city of all Germans. It is the intellectual and arts centre of the nation."

Herr Honecker's view of Berlin as a



capital city is that "it is the intellectual and cultural centre of the socialist German nation that has taken shape in the GDR."

The international gathering of mayors planned in mid-May in West Berlin to mark the opening of the International Architectural Exhibition will be followed, a fortnight later, by an international meeting of mayors in East Berlin to be held from 1 to 5 June.

In the West there will be a six-week "historical funfair" next summer. In East Berlin a two-day "historical market" including a festive procession will be held at the beginning of June.

Local festivities will be held by individual boroughs on both sides, with watercades due to be held in both East and West Berlin over the last weekend in July.

East Berlin has been in a better position from the outset in one respect: the historic city centre is in the East and an extensive programme of public works began several years ago with the anniversary in mind.

Special efforts are being made to ensure that Friedrichstrasse in the East is an attractive boulevard.

Reconstruction there is scheduled for completion by about 1990.

Friedrichstrasse railway station is to be refurbished, including a covered shopping centre, a cinema, a conservatory, boutiques and restaurants to brighten up the station precinct.

Official ceremonies will be held on both sides to mark Anniversary Day, 28 October 1987.

On 23 October a GDR ceremony will be held in the Palace of the Republic, while the East Berlin city council will hold an anniversary session on 28 October.

A few miles away the foundation stone of the German History Museum will be laid in West Berlin on the city's 750th Anniversary Day.

Hartmut Jennerjahn/dpa

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 30 September 1986)

Neue Heimat, the housing and construction group recently sold to Berlin bread manufacturer Horst Schiesser by the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, deserves much of the credit for helping to overcome the serious post-war housing shortage in Germany. Like West German society in general it then succumbed to the euphoria of seemingly limitless economic growth. The end of this pipedream for the economy as a whole meant the end of the road for Neue Heimat.

■ HOUSING

Neue Heimat — a post-war success story gone wrong

Almost seventy-five per cent of German homes were bombed to rubble during the Second World War.

People bombed out of their homes stood in long queues alongside refugees and expellees outside housing offices in the hope that their families would at least be allocated a room somewhere.

Meanwhile, German women worked day and night to clear away the rubble. In many cases their husbands were either missing, dead or still interned as prisoners of war.

As in the 1920s, workers' self-help initiatives were set up to run cooperative housing schemes, which meant building new homes in a country with a seven-figure housing shortage.

Traditional means were unable to cope with a housing shortage on this scale. What was needed was a large-scale solution.

With the help of trade union assets expropriated by the Nazis and returned after the war the Neue Heimat housing and construction group was set up in 1954.

It was the parent company of the 24 trade-union-owned housing cooperatives in the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West).

The Neue Heimat group built half a million low-cost dwellings, helping considerably to overcome the post-war housing shortage.

This large-scale solution to the housing problem, however, was also the first large-scale betrayal of cooperative ideals.

Trade union and cooperative members were no longer able to see through what the management was up to at the helm of the Neue Heimat group.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s people were no longer all that interested in demands for nationalisation and worker participation.

The bywords of the years of the *Wirtschaftswunder*, the West German economic miracle, were: work hard, earn money and get pay increases.

Workers felt confident that their union leaders would do the job right.

During elections the SPD and trade unions were assured of the support of the backbench *Kanalarbeiter* group.

That left the managers of the Neue Heimat free to get down to the business of making money in competition with private building speculators.

One clear advantage, of course, was that the union-owned firms were not faced by the opposition of the trade unions.

Success seemed to confirm that this was the right approach.

Housing estates sprang up like mushrooms and looked as if the day would soon come when the housing offices could close their doors.

The magic word was growth.

Municipalities and Land and federal politicians had big plans; industrial estates, they claimed, would be the source of a new prosperity.

They dreamt of futuristic towns and cities with towering skyscrapers and hypermarkets, crisscrossed by motorways and expressways at all levels.

Nuclear power plants "off the peg" planned well beyond the year 2000 could fuel their dreams, they claimed.

Municipalities drew up plans for satellite towns and many a local government politician informed the managers of the Neue Heimat where they could find land for their ambitious building projects.

There was a call for infrastructure facilities, such as shopping centres, hotels, congress centres and swimming baths.

Special tax concessions were introduced for higher-income taxpayers who wanted to buy their own flats or houses and would otherwise be forced to move outside the towns and cities.

Neue Heimat was keen to jump on this major new bandwaggon and built up housing stock, mainly on credit.

The oil-price boom provided even greater opportunities in other countries. The sheikhs and the oil-producing countries such as Mexico and Venezuela were planning huge industrialisation projects.

A growing number of skilled industrial workers in the Third World would soon need housing. The oil sheikhs also had money to burn for luxury buildings.

It seemed only natural to try and export the West German model to the nouveau riche primary producing countries.

Once again, many of these buildings were built on credit with the help of borrowed dollars.

During the years of growth euphoria hardly anyone questioned this policy.

It was backed by all political parties in the Bundestag and carried out by all Neue Heimat managers, not just Neue Heimat "King" Albert Vietor, who had already strayed unnoticed from the "straight and narrow."

Its backers also included the much-respected manager of Neue Heimat Baden-Württemberg and member of the managing board of the Hamburg-based parent company, Lothar Späth, now Christian Democratic Premier of Baden-Württemberg.

The only people who really complained about exaggerated growth-mindedness were rebellious students and squatters, who, for example, were trying to prevent old houses from being demolished in Frankfurt and protested against plans for even more skyscrapers.

These "long-haired revolutionaries" were not supported by the public at large or by the government.

The newspaper headline "Just look at these characters!" reflects the mood of "healthy popular sentiment" at that time.

The economic crisis of the mid-1970s showed that the dream of limitless growth was an illusion.

It also became clear that the Neue Heimat had run up considerable losses, *even though their vast scale was not discovered until many years later.*

The DM1.5m in profits with which the former head of the Neue Heimat, Albert Vietor, lined his own pockets at the expense of the group via Terrafinanz, a Munich company, seems no more than a drop in the ocean, a mere ten-thousandth of the DM17bn in debts which have accumulated up to the present day.

Most of the debts result from the purchase of prospective building land on credit and the construction of flats and houses via outside financing.

During the economic recession Neue Heimat was unable to find buyers for this real estate.

The revenue was missing, but the interest and capital repayment on loans still had to be paid back to the creditor banks.

And then, even before the change of government in Bonn in 1982, a policy of tight money was introduced.

Interest rates increased and the follow-up loans needed to settle debts became more expensive.

As industrialised countries were unable to buy as many raw materials and manufactured goods in developing countries during the recession period, the latter also ran into financial difficulties and the credit-financed industrialisation and building projects came to a standstill.

In particular, countries with the most ambitious plans such as Mexico and Venezuela found themselves caught in the debt trap.

Neue Heimat building projects there lay in ruins and the building land the group had bought was undeveloped.

There was a huge gap on the revenue side, whereas money still had to be found to pay the banks, which were asking for more deutschemarks for dollar loans because of the rising dollar exchange rate.

The trade unions invested DM1.5bn in the Neue Heimat Städtebau division in an effort to fill the gap.

The debt whirlpool continued, however, having long since dragged the non-profit section of the Neue Heimat into its vortex.

In 1985 alone the housing group recorded losses of approximately DM600m, DM200m more than the cost of the big metalworkers' strike over the 35-hour week in 1984.

For 1987 the main topic on the collective bargaining agenda is a further reduction of working hours.

This explains why the metalworkers' union IG Metall in particular urged the DGB to solve the Neue Heimat problem as soon as possible.

For if the Neue Heimat's losses had continued to be financed by trade union strike funds, said one union official, "the employers of the metalworking industry may just as well send us the pay agreements by recorded delivery during the next few years".

If the Neue Heimat had declared itself bankrupt, on the other hand, this would have worried the tenants even more than the latest surprise sale of the group.

Not all Neue Heimat tenants have permanent tenancy agreements, which means that those without such an agreement could have been evicted after three years following a compulsory auctioning off of the group.

The decision to sell has at least gained time, especi*ally sin*ce the new owner, Horst Schiesser, has made a commitment to maintain the *Sozialbindung* as long as he is owner.

This social commitment on individual property rights, therefore, can only then expire after a transitional period after Schiesser has sold the group, providing the next purchaser repays public loans prematurely.

This transitional period is ten years in Berlin and eight years in most other West German cities.

In municipalities with less than 200,000 inhabitants and in areas where there is no great shortage of housing there is a three-year period of protection against eviction if the purchaser wishes to put the property to his own personal use.

In these areas the rent can even be adjusted to the comparable rent level in that area after just six months (but by no more than 30 per cent over three years).

Following the sale of the Neue Heimat, therefore, most tenants have a period of grace until some time during the 1990s.

The social commitment clause for the low-cost buildings built during the 1950s and 1960s runs out then anyway and the rents can be gradually increased to general rent levels.

New state-subsidised housing already has rents which cover costs (or are even higher). If there is to be any low-cost

Continued on page 10

Parliamentary probe will help tenants

The pithy announcements by the coalition that the work of the parliamentary committee investigating the Neue Heimat affair would not be affected by the sale of the group only held true for a fortnight.

The new facts and figures of the public discussion on cooperative economic principles, housing policy and the situation of tenants mean an altered investigatory framework for the committee.

Against the background of the numerous unanswered questions relating to the trade unions' decision to opt out of their housing and construction group, an investigation into past wheeling and dealing by the management of Neue Heimat seems more than out of place.

The coalition is aware of this fact and its rescheduling of the hearing of evidence by the committee shows that it has acted accordingly.

The investigation committee can no longer be used as a political instrument for "union-bashing."

Activities so far and the latest decision to drop the policy of head-on confrontation are marked by election campaign considerations.

Trade union circles have closed ranks in the wake of the Neue Heimat sale.

This probably prompted CDU and CSU politicians to consider whether an anti-union election campaign might not make some voters feel compelled to show their solidarity with the labour movement by voting against the conservative parties.

The parliamentary investigation committee now has the chance to fulfil its real task of appraising recommendations for a reform of laws on non-profit housing.

The situation in Schiesser's Neue Heimat now requires a new legal framework able to set a limit to a sellout of cooperative housing.

Assuming the goodwill of all political parties, a decision on immediate measures may be taken before Christmas. Worried tenants would be very grateful if it were.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 8 October 1986)

■ PARTNERSHIP

Famine relief is no longer in the news, but Third World needs aid more than ever



Last year saw unusual ups and downs in the readiness of West Germans to donate toward relief for the Third World's poor.

Africa Day raised an unprecedented DM124m toward famine relief, but this spate of generosity soon subsided.

A controversial TV documentary revealed that some of the DM124m was still sitting pretty in German bank accounts weeks after the campaign.

Doubts also arose on whether there was any point in aiding the world's have-nots.

Church and private relief agencies noted with dismay the sudden resurgence of prejudice of old against development aid. They were seriously worried donors might call it a day.

The Freedom from Hunger Campaign's annual fund-raising week, launched by Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, will soon show whether and to what extent such fears are warranted.

We will see whether readiness to lend a hand has deep enough roots to survive regardless of extraneous influences.

The answer matters to 500 million people suffering from famine and malnutrition all over the world.

Distressing film footage from refugee camps in Ethiopia and Somalia where tens of thousands of people died of malnutrition really shook us all in the well-fed West.

Gaunt children, mothers and old people at the height of the Sahel drought were famine victims whose very appearance was an appeal for help that could hardly be overlooked.

Such appalling hardship cried out for relief. Cash was raised and food was shipped to the Sahel belt. Hundreds of thousands of people are likely to have been saved from certain death.

Conditions have since change. Even in Ethiopia people are no longer dying like flies. Rain has fallen, crops have been planted, disaster and famine relief is no longer needed.

Development aid can get back to normal. Conditions are less spectacular, with the result that some may feel special efforts are no longer required.

Quite the reverse. If the world's poor are to stand any long-term chance of a life worth living, then appropriate action must be undertaken now, at a time when disaster relief is not the immediate concern.

Help to self-help must be given, a helping hand without which entire continents will be doomed to underdevelopment.

Now is the time, when conditions are relatively favourable, to launch large-scale agricultural projects, irrigation systems and self-help programmes.

Otherwise the next drought and famine in Africa will be a foregone conclusion.

That leaves the question whether there is any point whatever in development aid unanswered. Experts well know that the gap between rich and poor is growing ever wider and that projects drawn up at the conference table in Bonn, Paris or Washington have done more economic and ecological harm than good on the spot.

Can development aid bear any fruit as long as the West spends about DM90bn a year on the poor yet insists on their hopelessly indebted countries paying DM300bn a year in loan interest and capital?

Unfair economic structures that make the rich richer and the poor poorer are without doubt mainly to blame for world hunger.

The population explosion in Africa, Asia and Latin America tends to make matters worse but is not as important a factor as is sometimes claimed.

FAO statistics show the world's population to have increased by about 900 million to an estimated five billion over the past 12 years, whereas the number of people suffering from acute hunger has remained fairly constant at about 500 million.

This may be attributed to a 2.3-per-cent increase in output of foodgrain over the same period. Farmers have grown more than ever before in the history of mankind.

Statistically 3,000 calories of food are available for every man, woman and child.

The problem is that resources are most unequally distributed. Thirty per cent of the world's population eat 60 per cent of the food, with some even destroying food to maintain price levels.

The hungry millions can't afford to wait for changes in the international economic order.

It isn't that development aid is ineffective. Were it not for development aid over one billion people would have died from not having enough to eat, again according to FAO estimates.

Life expectancy has increased in the Third World. Epidemics such as the plague have been kept at bay.

Nearly 100 million men and women now benefit, according to a Club of Rome report, from small self-help schemes that enable them to meet their own food requirements.

These are signs of hope. They are also a reminder that absolute priority needs to be given to rural development and improvement in food supplies.

Megalomanic industrial development fails to cater for local needs. It creates jobs in this country, not in the Third World.

It makes the poor countries even more abjectly dependent on imports of overpriced goods from the donor countries and leaves the Third World unable to break through the vicious circle that leaves it with not enough to eat.

The latest industrial development

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AVIATION

New Airbus 320 scheduled for take-off in March

Bremer Nachrichten

Although the A 320 Airbus is not scheduled to take to the air for six months Airbus Industrie already has 144 orders.

The company also has options for a further 232 of these short- to medium-haul aircraft, 37.57 metres in length with seating for between 134 to 179 passengers.

Hartmut Mehdorn, head of the aviation division of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB), a German member of the Airbus consortium, said: "Whether the maiden flight takes place a day before or after 26 March next year is not very important. What is important is that we fixed this date three and a half years ago and we are keeping exactly to schedule."

The A 320 Airbus is the latest in the Airbus family. The development of this aircraft brings the European Airbus Industrie just that much closer to it's target, which is to be a match on all international markets with American-manufactured jets.

Europe's smallest "whispering jet" has been a major international success from the outset. It is also a major technical advance.

It has a Mach number of 0.82 (the ratio of air speed of an aircraft to the velocity of sound under certain conditions; 1,228 km/h close to the ground or 1,080 km/h ten kilometres up).

The plane includes every latest development in civil aviation and despite its price of $33 million per aircraft it is a bestseller.

The reason for this success is that, thanks to the modern technology built into the plane, it is quieter than similar jets, its fuel consumption is much lower than competing planes and it can be handled much more easily than similar aircraft.

Hartmut Mehdorn, who for many years successfully headed a division of Airbus Industrie in Toulouse, said:

"The A 320 is the best aircraft in the world. By comparison the Boeing 737-300 is old hat, although the plane has become the sales hit in the industry and despite the fact that every month 14 of these aircraft are produced. The Americans would produce more if enough engines were available."

The facts of the matter are that engine manufacturers are having difficulty keeping pace with the international aircraft boom.

Mehdorn's contentions are supported by the orders placed by Northwest Airlines. The company, founded in Minneapolis in 1926 and the fifth largest in the world, has plumped for the European Airbus.

"Airline executives who buy the Airbus A 320 are thinking of the future. It is absolutely certain that fuel costs will not remain at their current low level," Mehdorn said.

He continued: "At the current price level it is not important that our Airbus A 320 consumes 35 per cent less fuel per passenger-kilometre than the Boeing 737-300 and 48 per cent less than the MD 82 from McDonnell Douglas."

The Boeing 737-300, in fact, costs only $25 million. Low fuel costs are a substantial consideration when looking at the purchase price.

Airbus executives know this and Boeing executives fear this.

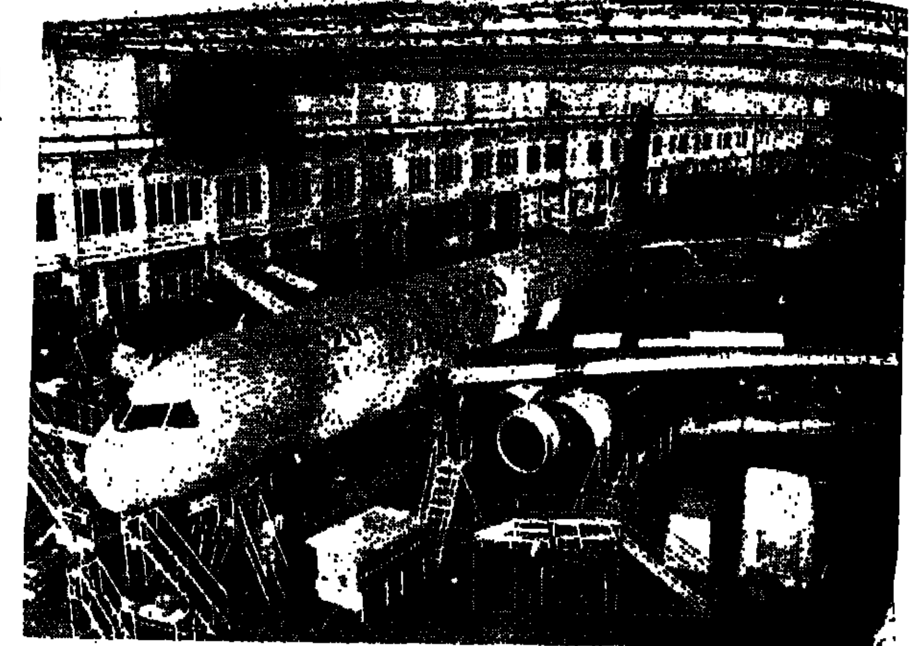
By the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s the short to medium-haul Airbus A 320 will be on top, just as Mehdorn predicted.

He conceded, however, that "although the future for the A 320 looks good it could have looked better, if we had brought the plane out 18 months earlier. We have lost a market for 150 planes."

The first Airbus A 320 will fly in March next year. After it has been granted an airworthiness certificate by the German aviation authorities the first planes will be handed over to Air France and British Caledonian Airways in 1988.

Major customers Lufthansa and Northwest Airlines, that has a fleet of 311 planes, will take delivery of their first A 320s in 1989 and 1990.

Lufthansa has placed an order for 15 A 320s with an option for 25 more.



Northwest Airlines are planning to buy 'up to 100' of the new A 320 addition to the Airbus family, here seen at the works in Toulouse (Photo: dpa)

In the next few years production at Airbus Industrie will be speeded up. At present three aircraft are produced per month. In 1988 five aircraft will be built monthly and from 1989 between six and seven.

To these production figures can be added three to four wide-body conventional models every month.

The A 320 is safer than conventional aircraft. It is flown by computers, replacing mechanical operating methods, and its aerodynamics give it an ideal flight profile.

Technology has made the plane's high safety standards possible. The "fly by wire" systems make it impossible for the pilot to over-run the runway, to fly too fast or on a dangerous course. Pilot error is automatically corrected.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 8 October 1986)

Airbus executives in Paris, Bonn, London and Madrid were elated when the Northwest Airlines contract for ten Airbus A 320s was almost wrapped up.

The euphoria was not surprising, for the order for the ten with an option on a further 90 could be worth DM6.5bn.

But the most important feature of this order is that it represents a breakthrough into the American market.

Ten years ago it was only hoped that this could be achieved. At that time Airbus Industrie, the European consortium with headquarters in Toulouse, was having difficulty to survive. For 16 months no orders were booked and production was down to one plane a month.

There seemed little hope that a European manufacturer could produce a highly competitive plane. There seemed no hope of a European aircraft company matching American superiority and equalling the Americans technically.

For the past 20 years the consortium members, France, West Germany and Britain, have pursued this aim.

In the 1960s there were more than a dozen aircraft manufacturers in Europe striving without much success, to break into the American market. Civilian aircraft production was almost on its knees.

Then the idea was born to pool research and production capacities, know-how and finances.

Instead of working against one another the Europeans decided to work with one another.

Increased economic cooperation in Europe brought with it technological cooperation.

In 1970 Airbus Industrie was founded with Société National Industrielle Aérospatiale and Deutsche Airbus each holding 37.9 per cent of the equity, British Aerospace 20 per cent and the Spanish Construcciones Aeronauticas 4.2 per cent.

Companies from these countries, as well as the Netherlands and Belgium, participate in the construction of Airbus aircraft.

US breakthrough a feather in Europe's cap

By 1972, despite language difficulties and production facilities located hundreds of kilometres distant from each other, it was obvious that the organisation was going to succeed.

On 28 October 1972 the first plane made its maiden flight. At that time the A 300 had no competition, but it did not sell.

The oil crisis did considerable damage to the aviation industry, and the European partners had to pour vast sums into the airbus project.

The breakthrough came in 1977 when Thai Airways placed a large or-



der. From then on there was no looking back.

There are now 27,000 employed in the airbus programme, to which can be added about 1,100 European supplier firms.

Up to May this year 540 aircraft had been delivered to 57 customers. Every day 200,000 passengers fly in planes from Airbus Industrie, Toulouse.

The Europeans' market share has grown from six per cent in 1977 to over 20 per cent now.

Undisputed market leader Boeing no longer looks on benevolently at developments in Europe. Over the past five years competition in aviation has become murderous and aviation companies are not squeamish about what they do.

The Europeans exploit to the full the special financial makeup of Airbus Industrie, which gives them greater room for manoeuvre than a company with public shareholders such as Boeing or McDonnell Douglas.

For instance, to get an order from Indian Airlines a couple of years ago France offered to give its assent to a loan from the World Bank, to help purify the Ganges and to give India priority for orders placed for the Mirage fighter plane, to encourage the Indians to order the airbus.

Tactics of this sort enrage the Americans. Last year Boeing asked President Reagan to take prompt action against unfair European competition.

State subsidies for Toulouse are a particular thorn in the side of officials in Washington and executives at Boeing headquarters in Seattle.

It's impossible to estimate just how much West Germany, France, Britain and Spain have paid for jumping on the Airbus bandwagon. The financing of the project is a closed book.

The participating governments operate with advances to Airbus Industrie, repayable subsidies, guarantees and development contracts.

Boeing claims that subsidies are in the region of $5bn and $10bn — which is probably not far wrong.

But the Americans are themselves not entirely untainted. Half of Boeing's sales are achieved from arms and aerospace contracts. When the civil aviation side of Boeing gets into trouble Washington helps with government contracts.

Boeing, for instance, came through the depression of 1983 unharmed, helped along by the Pentagon.

In any given year military contracts account for between 22 and 28 per cent of Boeing turnover.

The Americans know that aircraft manufacturers cannot be compared with other industrial operations, because of the close relationship between civil and military research, development and exploitation.

The decision to buy the Airbus is both economic and political.

Just like the Ariane space programme the Toulouse consortium ought to make the European Community technologi-

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ATOMIC ENERGY

Controversial power station goes on-stream

Brokdorf, the controversial nuclear power station north of Hamburg, has been a name in the news for 12 years. Protest marches and pitched battles between demonstrators and police have made regular headlines. So have impassioned parliamentary debates, a plethora of legal proceedings and, last but not least, the resignation of Social Democrat Hans-Ulrich Klose as mayor of Hamburg. Brokdorf has finally got down to the business of generating electricity but seems unlikely to have bowed out of the news.

After a final check by Schleswig-Holstein safety inspectors, Brokdorf nuclear power station went on-stream on 7 October.

This fait accompli is unlikely to end the dispute over the dome-shaped reactor not far from where the Kiel Canal meets the Elbe estuary and the North Sea.

SPD-ruled Hamburg, which has a 20-per-cent stake in Brokdorf via the municipal power utility, Hamburgische Elektricitätswerke (HEW), plans to challenge in court neighbouring CDU-ruled Schleswig-Holstein's decision to give the go-ahead for the reactor to go on-stream.

The Social Democratic Opposition in the Schleswig-Holstein state assembly in Kiel also plans to challenge the decision.

The chequered progress of a project named after an idyllic village nestling behind the Elbe dike in the Wilster march began on 12 March 1974 when the HEW went halves with another power utility, Nordwestdeutsche Kraftwerke (NWK), in applying for planning permission to build a 1,365-megawatt pressurised-water reactor that was to be the largest and most up-to-date in the Federal Republic.

The application was made at a time when opposition to nuclear power was gaining momentum. By the end of 1974 objections to Brokdorf registered with the planning authorities totalled 21,000.

Yet the Schleswig-Holstein *Land* government in Kiel gave initial planning permission, a decision followed, on 25 October 1976, by the first large-scale demonstration on the site of the proposed nuclear power station.

Bird's-eye view of Brokdorf nuclear power station

(Photo: Krug/freig. Reg. Präsidium Karlsruhe Nr. 216/3010)

The site was still a meadow but surrounded by fortifications including trenches and barbed wire emplacements.

On 13 November 1976 several hundred militant anti-nuclear demonstrators stormed the site, which was defended by police and Federal Border Patrol units, and 40,000 peaceful demonstrators looked on shocked at scenes that fell little short of civil war.

Schleswig administrative court ruled in favour of several soundly-argued appeals and suspended the initial planning permission mainly in connection with unresolved matters of nuclear waste disposal.

The court's decision was upheld by a higher court in Lüneburg.

Not until four years (and countless court cases) later, in February 1981, was the go-ahead finally given for construction work.

On 28 February 1981 Brokdorf was the scene of the largest-ever protest demonstration against a nuclear power station when 80,000 people converged on the site from all over the country.

The demonstration went down in Brokdorf's chequered career as the "winter battle."

Mayor Klose of Hamburg, previously a fairly conservative Social Democrat, had meanwhile come to hold increasingly left-wing views on atomic energy (and other issues).

He was keen to see Hamburg pull out of the Brokdorf project. In May 1981 he resigned as mayor.

His successor, Klaus von Dohnanyi, maintained Klose's anti-nuclear power policy, if somewhat more circumspectly.

In October 1981 the city-state's Senate decided that Hamburg's energy requirements would best be met by a wider range of energy sources rather than by participation in Brokdorf.

Hamburg already used atomic energy from nuclear power stations in Stade and Brunshüttel, and two more were under construction in Krümmel and Brokdorf.

Over 70 per cent of the city's electric power now comes from nuclear power stations and Brokdorf's output is no longer needed.

That being so, the HEW sold all but 20 per cent of its stake in Brokdorf to Preussenelektra, the parent company of NWK.

While politicians argued, construction work continued at full speed. On 7 June 1986 there was another large-scale demonstration, accompanied by ugly scenes of violence, at Brokdorf.

The power station is now in operation, but that is unlikely to be the last of the matter.

Thomas Wolgast

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 8 October 1986)

Brokdorf may pave way for phaseout

Now Brokdorf nuclear power station is on-stream a dispute that went on for years is over, for the time being at least, and a new leaf has been turned over in the use of atomic energy.

The decision by politicians in charge of energy policy is a clear statement of intent to the world at large. The message is that despite Chernobyl the Federal Republic of Germany remains firmly committed to nuclear power.

As far as the Federal government is concerned work can go ahead unhindered on the fast breeder reactor at Kalkar on the Rhine and Wackersdorf nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Bavaria.

The Social Democrats and Greens may clamour for a phaseout of nuclear power but the Bonn coalition will hear nothing of the idea.

Wackersdorf failed to dent support for Premier Franz Josef Strauss's CSU in Bavaria, yet the Greens boosted their support in the state assembly elections, polling seven per cent and joining the SPD on the Opposition benches in Munich.

Now the new reactor at Brokdorf is in operation a number of oldtimer nuclear power stations can be phased out, making atomic energy safer.

Brokdorf marks the end of an era in another respect. No new nuclear power stations are planned; Brokdorf stands for a time when diversification was the keynote.

Everyone wanted to reduce dependence on energy imports, particularly oil, and atomic energy was felt to hold the key to a new era.

All that is left of that new era in which atomic energy was to emerge as Germany's foremost source of electric power is that there is still leeway for careful use of atoms for peace.

The crucial factor in the future use of atomic energy is less whether all power reactors under construction ever go on-stream than how consumers behave.

If consumers make full use of energy-saving options a phaseout of nuclear power will be anything but wishful thinking.

Peter Klausen

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 8 October 1986)

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disaster may be said to have struck in Tanzania, where an international consortium built a gigantic paper works for DM800m.

It was opened last November and closed last May because world markets were saturated and the paper it produced was unsaleable.

If any conclusion at all is to be reached from past mistakes then it cannot be the decision to abandon development aid and leave the poor to shift for themselves.

What needs changing is the kind of help given, and the approach adopted by organisations such as the Freedom from Hunger Campaign is an example the public sector would do well to follow.

Joachim Hauck

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 3 October 1986)

Over 90 states confer on reactor safety

We live in a post-Chernobyl world, and Environment Minister Walter Wallmann's official statement made the point yet again.

Even to want to call into question the risks inherent in atoms for peace could prove fateful.

Over 90 states acknowledged the fact and took seriously Chancellor Kohl's bid to hold a special international conference on reactor safety in Vienna.

Herr Wallmann's statement to the Bundestag on the conference's results sounded an optimistic note.

More, he said, had been accomplished than might realistically have been expected.

That may be true, but the countries concerned can only prove him right in the years ahead.

Even so, the mere fact that the conference has been held must be rated as a success. In other circumstances it would have taken years of preparations to get so many governments round a conference table.

This may be a regrettable fact but it is one that clearly cannot be changed. As in private life, the world's leading public figures are only wise after the event.

Herr Wallmann is right in stressing that it would be simply provincial to assess the risks involved in harnessing nuclear power on a purely national basis.

Chernobyl has shown that such a blinkered approach might either foster illusionary hopes or lead to bitter disappointments.

A national phaseout of atomic energy would clearly not make the situation safer as long as others failed to follow suit, the risks being no respecter of frontiers.

The alternative is, for the time being, to make every effort to ensure controlled and universally verifiable safety of nuclear reactors.

All states that operate or plan to operate reactors evidently have no objections in principle to reaching agreement on this point.

The Opposition Social Democrats have seen fit to make the Vienna conference out to have been a skilfully engineered publicity event for nuclear power.

This view merely shows how far the SPD has isolated itself on this issue. It was plain to see in Vienna that many countries, especially Third World states, are keen to harness atoms for peace.

They must be made to understand the message that a high price needs paying for safety.

The SPD once itself held this view, and Herr Wallmann had a Social Democratic quotation at the ready.

"The energy requirements of most developing countries can only be met by nuclear power," the SPD is on record as having stated, and the point cannot be disputed.

The Social Democrats' volte-face is amazing, even in a general election campaign, especially when they would do better to quietly reach all-party agreement on an issue that has long ceased to be of merely national importance.

Karl Hugo Pruys

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 3 October 1986)

■ ART

Major new art gallery is veteran German newsman's brainchild

Emden, on the Dutch border near the North Sea, is an unusual location for a major new art gallery. So is the man behind it, veteran journalist Henri Nannen, and his plans to include a school of painting for children.

So it was, perhaps, not so surprising after all that the head of state, Richard von Weizsäcker, attended the opening ceremony at the Emden *Kunsthalle.*

It is the smallest new museum to have been opened recently in Germany but the advance publicity was so effective, despite its being off the beaten track in Emden, that journalists and art-lovers converged on Emden in droves for the opening ceremony.

The Emden Kunsthalle is not just special in having been newly built in the backwoods, as it were, but in both the collection and the building having been the brainchild of one man.

Henri Nannen, a household name as editor-in-chief of *Stern* magazine for decades, drew up the idea and supervised the project to his own liking, and it isn't just a minor offering to his home town by a returned native son.

Nannen has invested his entire life's savings in the Kunsthalle, which is thus the crowning achievement of a busy and successful working life.

It all began when he left *Stern* in December 1983 after 33 years with the Hamburg magazine, then worked for a short while as an art dealer.

He had always been an art-lover (he studied art history at university) and was particularly fond of German expressionism. Gabriele Münter gave him his first painting in Murnau in the 1940s.



As he made his way in the world he gradually bought paintings, drawings, prints and sculpture he liked.

Even in later years when he planned to house his collection in a gallery he was still guided by his personal taste and interests and resisted the temptation to document every trend.

What makes the collection so delightful is surely the naive and fresh approach and the pleasure in making a discovery that are the hallmarks of the keen patron and donor.

The instinctive, as opposed to systematic, way in which the collection took shape is typical. It is accompanied by anecdotes Nannen tells with pathos and humour.

Books could be written about the begging letters he wrote and visits he paid when his own funds were no longer quite enough to foot the bill.

He borrowed works of art from artists' widows (a number of important works of sculpture, for instance) and persuaded a manufacturer to donate him the tiles for the museum's kitchen and toilets.

Lower Saxony was persuaded to fund the project in the general atmosphere of euphoria too.

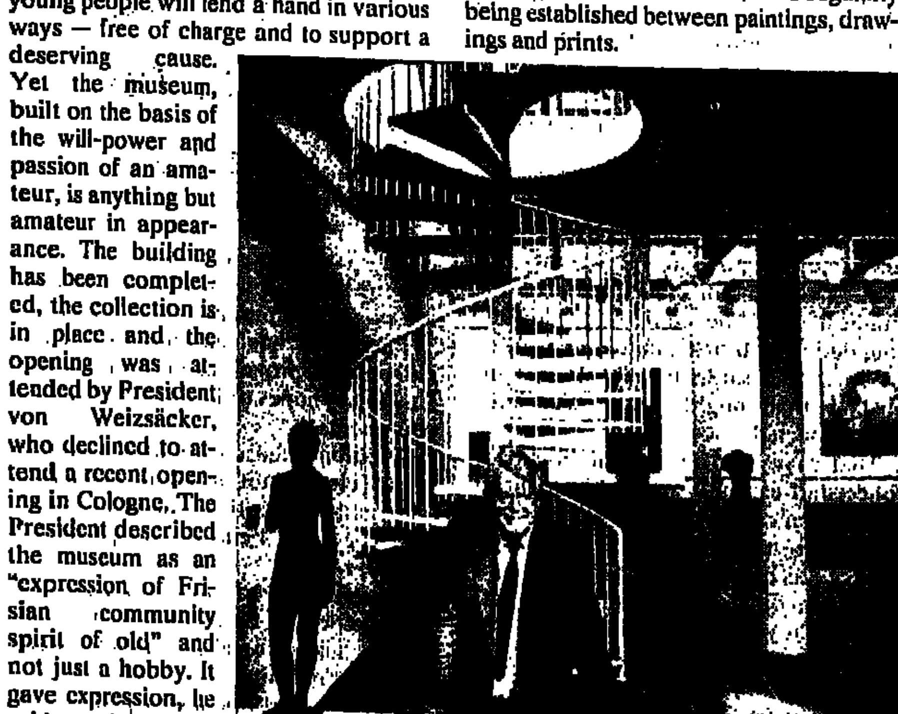
Lower Saxony's economic development department contributed DM430,000 toward the cost of the building. The Ministry of Arts and Science contributed a further DM400,000.

The building cost about DM6.5m in all. Nannen has sunk all his money into the venture and upkeep and follow-on costs must be borne in mind he is still very much on the lookout for funds.

His latest venture is an Association of Friends of the Kunsthalle. Annual running costs of DM400,000 have yet to be covered, but he is confident that Emden will help him.

A tireless worker who has no qualms about clambering up a ladder and doing the donkey work himself, he is confident young people will lend a hand in various ways — free of charge and to support a deserving cause.

Yet the museum, built on the basis of the will-power and passion of an amateur, is anything but amateur in appearance. The building has been completed, the collection is in place and the opening was attended by President von Weizsäcker, who declined to attend a recent opening in Cologne. The President described the museum as an "expression of Frisian community spirit of old" and not just a hobby. It gave expression, he said, to the feeling of our life and times. It appealed to visitors to be tolerant when they failed to understand a work of art. That, he said, was why the idea of an attached school of painting for children was such a happy one.




Henri Nannen in the art gallery he has donated to his home town, Emden. (Photo: Thomann/stern)

The Kunsthalle nestles in woodland in the bend of a canal yet is in the centre of town. The architect, Friedrich Spengelin from Hanover, chose a restrained and unpretentious redbrick design consisting of various staggered buildings providing both openings and cover and vaguely reminiscent of Dutch or Scandinavian work.

The foyer is a functional point of arrival and referral, not a magnificent lobby.

There is a staircase leading up to the gallery proper, with the cafeteria to the right and the offices to the left on the ground floor.

The cafeteria incorporates a Tiffany stained glass window from Nannen's old Hamburg apartment. It looks out on to a courtyard full of sculpture, particularly an outsize female by Gerhard Marcks.

Alongside the paintings Nannen's sculpture collection is mainly of interest because of the attention it pays to German figurative work, which other museums in the Federal Republic have tended to neglect.

There is outstanding work by Barlach, Kolbe, Kasper, Marcks, Blumenthal and Stadler and, more contemporaneously, Peter Grossbach from Cologne.

In the upper storey the somewhat narrow impression opens out into a flowing spatial landscape consisting of two large halls with skylights and smaller rooms to the side.

Paintings are hung largely in keeping with optical considerations, links regularly being established between paintings, drawings and prints.




Straight from the Roaring Twenties: Karl Hofer's Tiller Girls, 1923, oil on canvas. (Photo: Catalogue)

Visitors as they go up the stairs will first see two paintings by Max Beckmann, one entitled Quappi in a Green Dress and the other a magnificent Italian landscape he painted in the 1930s.

Many a well-known artist's work will then be recognised to the right, such as paintings by Kokoschka, Otto Mueller and Emil Nolde.

The left houses Nannen's wide-ranging collection of work dating back to the 1920s *Neue Sachlichkeit* or new realism movement.

This unorthodox juxtaposition of well-known, established painters and work by less well-known artists is typical of Nannen's collection.

His instinct may not invariably have served him unfailingly, but his arrangement ensures interesting discoveries that justify the approach.

One is Hans Ludwig Katz, a painter who emigrated to South Africa in 1934 and has been totally forgotten in Germany.

The new Kunsthalle has five fascinating paintings by Katz. They partly remind the viewer of Christian Schad's magic realism. They also call to mind the allegorical illusions of Beckmann.

But the weightiest foundation of the new museum is undoubtedly Nannen's collection of expressionist art, including outstanding work by the *Brücke* and *Blauer Reiter* groups and splending paintings by the great loners Nolde and Rohlfs.

Nannen is shown by his collection to be a man of strong gestures to whom colours and emotions clearly mean more than complicated concepts of art theory.

Just as he intuitively always knew, as the editor of *Stern*, what his readers wanted, so he seems to have a gut sense of what art is.

This intuitive view has dangers, of course, as is clear from the contemporary art on show (if not earlier).

The contemporary section is without question the weakest in the Kunsthalle. It is weak because it lacks real yardsticks. References to contemporary stylistic pluralism are no excuse.

There are a few "wild" or "savage" paintings by Salomé or Middendorf that arguably might have taken up the clue of expressionist thread.

But they proved as ineffectual as the few exhibits represent the informal or in-

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housing for low-income families in 10 years' time the government will have to amend the laws relating to publicly subsidised housing anyway.

One alternative could be to directly subsidise these families, which would otherwise have to look for accommodation on the free real estate market.

The sale of Neue Heimat to the bread manufacturer Horst Schiesser, therefore, is probably more of a disappointment to the creditor banks than to tenants.

The banks were hoping to be able to acquire the healthy trade union-owned enterprises, in particular Volksfürsorge, the insurance group, and the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, as a security for Neue Heimat's debts.

Although the crafty sales deal may help the DGB save the remaining cooperative enterprises there is not a great deal left of the original intentions of the cooperative ideal.

The only really cooperative organisations now are the numerous self-help initiatives supported by the Greens and other alternative political groups, which are modelled on the self-help cooperatives of the 1920s.

Will the new cooperatives learn from the mistakes of their predecessors or will they too be swallowed up by the tough competition of market forces?

Jürgen Duenbostel

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 5 October 1986)

■ PUBLISHING

Takeovers preoccupy book trade in Frankfurt

This year's Frankfurt Book Fair has just closed and as ever it has its admirers and detractors, depending on the visitor's standpoint.

Professional exhibitors, publishers and booksellers are popularly believed to condemn it far less than visitors, who roam aimlessly through the supposed chaos and are not tempted to read anything from the colourful displays of books.

The times are long since past when British authoress Nancy Mitford visited the shabby halls of the Fair, where loud discussion about royalties and copyright, book clubs and printing runs could be heard so that Miss Mitford ironically commented: "What a remarkable book mess!"

Many things are now much better organised, although there now are more prophets of gloom who look back to the times when the Fair was a mess, although perhaps not to the times when Franz Beckenbauer and Muhammed Ali were star authors and perhaps not to the times of sit-ins and police with truncheons and dogs. To them the Fair has nothing much to do with books.

What should the world's largest book fair be and try to achieve? Should it be a shop window for the book trade and for readers of the titles published during the year?

Trade meeting place

Should it be an international meeting place for the trade so that publishers and booksellers can all meet together in one place, saving themselves the bother of having to chase round the world to keep in contact?

Or should authors be there to promote their books and give an account of themselves? The book itself does not carry enough conviction. People want to know something about the people behind the book.

There are some authors who avoid the Frankfurt Book Fair like the plague. John le Carré, for instance, gives Frankfurt a wide berth and steers clear of every attempt to interview him, and his publishers serve him well, having little to say about their author.

This year a few new publications were launched in a tasteful manner — no great crowds at the presentation where members of the public could grasp the hand of an author, just a modest opportunity to find out about the new publications for those interested.

The Piper and Beck publishing houses disguised these events as public readings of publications by their authors.

Paul Watzlawick, whose book *Anleitung zum Unglücklichsein* (How to Be Unhappy), that maintains that Germans try to pursue happiness but always end up unhappy, has become a bestseller in Germany.

He took the opportunity to lecture at the Book Fair on the theme that Germans come a cropper in thinking that happiness can be bought like an article at a supermarket or even learnt. But amusing alienations such as these can boomerang.

Historian Peter Gay, just as seductive and equally draped in the mantle of science, told passers-by that the Victorians were far less prudish than they are made out to have been.

Volumes of memoirs whose authors do not appear at the Fair are, granted, half-hearted affairs.

Golo Mann's volume of reminiscences of his youth, whose serialisation in a major Frankfurt newspaper has whetted readers' appetites for the work, was one of the most prominent new publications at this year's Fair.

The book is appearing during its publishers' 100th anniversary year, S Fischer Verlag, so the publishers' advertising for the anniversary and the book go well together.

Bruno Kreisky, former Austrian chancellor, was assured of a witty eulogy from writer-journalist François Bondy. Bondy said that Kreisky, unlike in the first volume of his memoirs, would bluntly name politicians by name in the second volume.

Blunt but genial Kreisky wasn't saying whether it would. So it may yet be as evasive as the first volume.

Other publishing houses, such as Alfred Knopf of New York, did a lot of mystery-mongering about manuscript received from the exiled Russian dissident Andrei Sakharov.

Knopf is a go-ahead publishing house that will get world attention for certain if these fragments appear in book-form under its imprint. A book Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner, wrote whilst she was in the West is shortly to be published by Knopf.

Solzhenitsyn's thick volume *November 1916* is another book giving insights into Russian politics.

It is interesting to note that generally political themes of this kind were not of so much interest at this year's Fair.

The days of ideological confrontation with the assistance of sensational books are perhaps not finished but pushed aside for the time being.

There were two sensations in international publishing just before the Fair began, and Frankfurt is very much involved internationally.

Bertelsmann of Gütersloh bought up the American publishing giant Doubleday for a lot of money, some say too much.



Bertelsmann executives were full of pride at this sensational coup, and were just as happy that their coup occurred at the same time as another.

The British giant Penguin Books bought up the pocket-book giant New American Library. They feared that the word would get around that "the Huns are conquering New York." The British also know how to put the fear of God into their American cousins.

Increasing the Penguin list by 3,000 New American Library titles is no trifle. The acquisition of Doubleday has made Bertelsmann the world's largest media organisation.

Doubleday men have great hopes that there will be a repeat of the Bantam Books success after Bertelsmann took over this imprint ten years ago.

They hope that Bertelsmann will be able to put the ailing publishing house on the Hudson River back on its feet. The imprint's image was shattered a long time ago. Many have been sacked and veteran editors have lost a lot of ground that Bertelsmann people must recover with industry and tact.

Doubleday is like an American version of Bertelsmann; both houses operate book clubs, publish paperbacks, sell books and print. For this reason Doubleday will be taken over section by section.

Anyone who casts his eyes on the American market has to conquer it first before any profits can be made.

The Doubleday team at the Frankfurt Book Fair must have been surprised to learn that on the way over they had been bought up.

They must have heaved a sigh of relief when Bertelsmann staff met them on the Doubleday stand, not to fire them but to talk about books.

The Bertelsmann and Penguin deals involved billions of deutschemarks. In addition Bertelsmann have recently acquired the RCA record label plus the record club.

The figures in these deals put Lord Weidenfeld's efforts to get his hands on Grove Press with the aid of private funds very much in the shade — Lord Weidenfeld of Weidenfeld & Nicholson of London.

The reported $50m purchase price for Grove Press would have been swallowed up in launching an English-language *Geo*, which Bertelsmann risked doing.

What is important in these major publishing house deals, and consoling, is that the purchasers are publishers.

Bantam used to have the Italian car firm Fiat as a feather in its cap. The Italians just wanted to invest without understanding anything about publishing.

Because Bantam did not prove to be a gold mine the imprint was shed to the Germans, who were better able to make it successful.

The West German publishing scene seems to be very tame beside these sensational developments; but there are two personnel changes to be reported.

The prestigious Munich literature publisher Hanser has a new head to replace veteran editor Michael Krüger.

One of the largest publishing agglomerations, the Fleissner Group, that has for some time controlled the whole Ullstein-Propyläen organisation, has found a new coordinator, Gert Frederking.

Marketing supremo

He was sales director with Molden, Goldmann and Schneider. He will be responsible for the thirty (or more?) Fleissner Group publishing programmes. The Group's list has become more and more an impressive catchment tank for less impressive titles.

Just whether a coodinator can breath life into such a publishing programme is doubtful.

Personnel changes of this kind have very little influence on sales curves upwards. Publishing giant takeovers unsettle readers less than they do the stock market.

The worries that television has given book publishing for years — and television is inimical to reading — seem to have been calmed a little.

Prophets of doom, who for years have predicted the death of the book and the end to reading, have been denounced from time to time as kill-joys.

The increased turnover of the book trade and a further increase in the number of new publications indicates confidence. This does not reflect on the quality of the books published but simply on sales opportunities.

The consolation is that the Frankfurt Book fair was never out to promote literature but rather to promote books and their distribution. And that is doing a lot.

Albrecht Roeseler

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 October 1986)



Frankfurt peace prize for Bartoszewski

Polish historian and publicist Wladyslaw Bartoszewski (right) is congratulated by Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker (left) in Frankfurt on being awarded the German Booksellers Association's peace prize. The Association's chairman, Günther Christiansen (centre), looks on. The prize, worth DM25,000, is awarded annually in conjunction with the Frankfurt Book Fair. Bartoszewski, 64, was honoured as a pioneer of reconciliation between Poland and Germany. He was imprisoned in Auschwitz by the Nazis and interned in Poland as a member of Solidarity. (Photo: dpa)

■ MOTORING

Oil firms hard-sell unleaded petrol, earn welcome windfall profits

Karl-Wilhelm Lott of Deutsche Shell in Hamburg scoffs at German motorists. "Some will drive miles for petrol selling at a pfennig less per litre," he says, "yet can't be bothered to save two pfennigs a litre at their local filling station."

The reference is to unleaded petrol. It is taxed at a lower rate than the conventional leaded variety and has been cheaper at the pump since the New Year. Yet most motorists give it a wide berth.

This irks the oil companies. They have invested heavily in making unleaded petrol available all over the country — and not just to sell it by the gill, Lott says.

The Mineral Oil Association's Peter Schlüter says the industry has spent roughly DM1.2bn on converting filling stations and expanding refinery and storage capacities.

Unleaded premium grade is now available at roughly 10,000 of the country's 18,000 filling stations, 6,500 of which also sell unleaded super.

Only 12 per cent

Over half the cars now driving on German roads can be run without difficulty on unleaded petrol, says the Environmental Protection Agency's Gernot Müller. But ULP has only a 12-per-cent share of the market.

"People are simply not sure where they stand," Lott says. Carmakers and garage mechanics have not told them a straight story.

What they have been told about unleaded petrol is riddled with contradictions and too complicated to make plain sense.

Motorists are repeatedly advised to switch to ULP but to fill their tanks with leaded petrol periodically. They find this advice extremely suspicious.

Fearing their engines might be damaged by unleaded petrol, they stick to the dearer, leaded variety. This year they will be earning the Finance Minister a DM700m windfall, says ADAC, the Munich-based automobile club.

The duty charged on unleaded petrol is 46 pfennigs per litre, as against 53 pfennigs on leaded. This difference, multiplied by the dearer motor fuel un-



necessarily bought by ill-informed and worried motorists, is the DM700m estimated by the ADAC.

The lower duty on ULP having failed to have the desired effect, the oil firms have decided on moves of their own to sell the unloved but environmentally A1 three-letter word.

In mid-September they almost simultaneously introduced an "unleaded guarantee" scheme by which motorists are told at the filling station whether their car can be run on ULP.

At Esso stations, for instance, a few data from the car's registration papers are all that is needed. They are mailed to the technical department at head office in Hamburg.

If the car is found to be suitable for running on ULP, the motorist will be supplied with a three-year written guarantee with an inspection booklet and vignette.

If engine trouble occurs during this period for which unleaded petrol is to blame, Esso guarantees to foot the repair bill.

BP calls a similar scheme its "environmental pass." Aral has an ULP guarantee card, Shell an ULP pass. All guarantee the engine for three years against damage from unleaded petrol.

In Aral's case it is a 100,000km guarantee, or up to five years.

Unlike Esso, other oil firms have guarantee cards issued by filling station staff. Aral and Shell run a special telephone service to brief filling stations.

Staff can ring it daily between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. for the price of a local call for advice in cases where the garage hand is in doubt.

"There is keen interest and we are receiving many enquiries," says Aral's Günter Schlüter. "The pass is selling like hot cakes," says Esso's Elisabeth Klass. "We are issuing several thousand a day."

Shell's Karl-Wilhelm Lott is delighted to report unleaded sales up and rising rapidly. Unleaded petrol used to have nine per cent of the market and has increased its share to 12 per cent in a matter of weeks.

"The guarantee has done the trick," Lott says. But how good is it? Bernhard Kuckertz of ADAC's North Rhine region in Cologne is sceptical.

"You simply can't prove that a specific variety of fuel is to blame for engine damage," he says. Yet the onus is on the motorist to prove ULP is to blame if he is to claim on the guarantee.

Kuckertz sees the whole idea as just a bid to persuade motorists to tank only one brand of fuel. The oil firms' guarantees naturally only apply if motorists use their fuel only.

Just 'hot air'

The booklet that comes with the pass contains pages to be stamped every time the tank is filled.

The EPA's Gernot Müller, a chemist, says the oil firms' ULP guarantees are just "hot air."

He is all in favour of more unleaded petrol being sold as a result. Leaded petrol releases 0.15 grams of lead per litre into the atmosphere, totalling roughly 4,500 tonnes of lead a year that contaminates soil, plants, food and the human body.

Yet he feels the oil firms' guarantee schemes are worthless. Fuel grades and qualities are standardised. The DIN 51607 standard is the only guarantee motorists need.

Its specifications were jointly agreed by the oil industry and motor manufacturers. Petrol pumps with a DIN 51607 sticker are all that motorists need to rely on.

Hans-Jürgen Billigmann of the Consumers Association in Bonn sees the oil firms' ULP guarantee schemes as merely a sales campaign using environmental arguments as a sales pitch.

As long as oil duty is staggered, oil firms earn more from selling unleaded than leaded petrol. Arguing that ULP costs them more to make, they pass on to motorists only two pfennigs of the seven pfennigs per litre they save in oil duty on a litre of unleaded.

The Finance Ministry nets a windfall seven pfennigs per litre from motorists who could run their cars on ULP but don't. The oil firms net five pfennigs per litre from motorists who buy ULP as long as the tax differential exists.

In reality, unleaded super doesn't cost more to manufacture at all. It simply has a lower octane rating (95 as against 98) whereas premium-grade ULP is given a dose of anti-pinking additives that are claimed to increase the cost.

Aral's Peter Wilms complains that two thirds of this extra cost is due to distribution. Filling stations have to be supplied with and to stock and store four grades of fuel, as against two. Tankers need to be cleansed more often too.

This last claim isn't true. Unleaded petrol is allowed to contain a residual 0.013 grams of lead per litre. This provision was made specifically to avoid the need to run two separate distribution systems.

So tankers don't need to be cleansed every time they are filled with a different grade of fuel, and spot checks of tankers last year revealed that ULP samples regularly contained between 0.004 and 0.008 grams of lead per litre.

Selling unleaded petrol can't be as unprofitable as the oil firms lament. Otherwise they wouldn't be selling it as keenly as they are.

They initially favoured a ban on leaded premium-grade petrol, as backed by the Federal government and several *Länder* and enforced in Austria and Switzerland.

That would have enabled filling stations to dispense with one of the two extra pumps. Instead, they have heavily invested in converting filling stations from two to four pumps (not including diesel).

A ban on leaded premium grade would make much of this investment unnecessary, so it is now, Herr Lott says, too late for a ban.

The government would, he says, be better advised to maintain the oil duty differential beyond 1989. Lower duties on ULP is planned only as a temporary measure and is due to expire at the end of March 1989. But the oil firms would be happy to see it retained for longer.

Roland Kirbach

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 October 1986)

US breakthrough

Continued from page 8

cally and politically independent. The participating governments have demonstrated that cooperation between the various partner countries not only works but can be successful. This increases the Community's self-confidence.

The outlook is rosy. The financial support given has proven to be worthwhile. In a few years if all goes well the Airbus will be out of the red.

Inge Pröll

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 7 October 1986)

■ MEDICINE

Tübingen pellets lay rabid fox's ghost over much of Germany

A Tübingen rabies vaccine laid out in pellet form has virtually broken the chain of infection among foxes in wide areas of Germany.

Rabies pellets, 1.6 million so far, have helped to lay the ghost of the rabid fox as a spreader of incurable disease.

The fox in this role is not just part of folk lore and legend. Foxes definitely spread rabies, an epidemic disease described by Aristotle in the 4th century BC.

The writer has been out walking with his dog in the Bavarian countryside and met a fox in the midday sun. Unusually, the fox stood his ground until he was scared away by a stone.

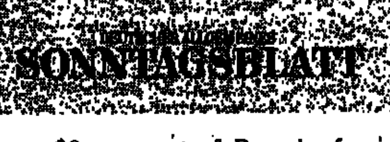
Even then, he didn't simply turn tail, merely slinking reluctantly into the grass until the telltale tip of his brush vanished from view.

Hours later a fox was reported to have bitten a dog and its owner outside their home in a nearby village. Within hours the symptoms were unmistakable and the dog had to be put down.

This high-noon anecdote, a tale of man versus beast reminiscent of Hemingway, is told merely to show that rabies is still an ever-present menace.

But its days may be numbered. Professor Lothar Schneider and his Tübingen University team will soon have vaccinated foxes over a quarter of the country's surface area.

Pellets have already been laid out in



about 20 per cent of Bavaria, for instance, making so many foxes rabies-resistant that the chain of infection has been broken.

In these areas, Professor Schneider says, rabies has been eliminated. The idea would have been wishful thinking before his field trials.

Foresters, huntsmen and other enthusiastic volunteers have laid out 1.6m pellets over 23.6 per cent of the country in 30 campaigns.

A spokesman for the Bonn Agriculture Ministry says the volunteers are enthusiastic because they much prefer pellets to pumping Prussic acid gas down foxes' lairs.

The pellet vaccine, SAD B 19 Tübingen, doesn't barbarically gas the vixen and her 6-13 young; it just vaccinates them and makes them immune for up to 13 months.

Field trials have proved that the vaccine doesn't kill other animals, such as wild boars, pine martens and other carnivores, that happen to feed on a pellet or two.

When the animal sinks its teeth into a tasty pellet two millilitres of vaccine are released into its mouth and throat, finding their way into the blood via minute cuts. Four weeks later the animal is immune to rabies.

Foxes were the obvious target, accounting for 78 per cent of recorded rabies cases. They have no natural enemies in Germany and are fairly numerous (up to five per hectare).

What is more, they aren't loners like the wolf. The fox is a model father, sharing its prey with the vixen and their young.

Rabid foxes inevitably infect other wild and domestic animals, such as dairy cattle in pasture.

Symptoms take up to six weeks to occur, affecting the central nervous system and causing painful death.

By virtue of a pioneering achievement 100 years ago rabies has long ceased to be the killer among humans it once was.

In July 1885 Louis Pasteur tried out his first rabies vaccine on a farmhand, Joseph Meister, who had been bitten by a rabid wolf and faced certain death.

The vaccine made him immune and he survived, while Pasteur discovered what he had been looking for: a serum for prevention, not cure.

His serum was taken from the bone marrow of rabid rabbits. It paved the way for rabies vaccination of dogs.

That eliminated man's best friend as the domestic source of a disease that for centuries had been a scourge, sweeping Europe in successive epidemics.

Attempts to vaccinate wild animals were less successful. Even in advanced Europe rabies has defied bids to eliminate it over the past 30 years.

In 1984 there were 23,810 reported cases in Europe, plus an estimated 90 per cent unreported. Last year over 8,000 cases were reported in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) launched an international research campaign in 1972 when Swiss and German research scientists developed a vaccine that remained effective on the ground for up to a fortnight even at temperatures of 34° C.

The Tübingen team has worked on foxes for three years, showing how the vaccine can most effectively be administered to them.

Until autumn 1985 the vaccine was injected by hand into chicken heads as bait. They were then replaced by machine-filled pellets of fishmeal and animal fat.

The result was a dramatic increase in the rate at which ground could be covered.

Between 1983 and spring 1985 435,000 tit-bits were laid out. Last spring alone 700,000 pellets were spread.

Surprisingly, they took to the pellets even more enthusiastically than to the chicken heads.

Of the foxes killed and checked, 58 per cent had on average eaten prepared chicken heads and become immune to rabies, whereas 74 per cent have been found to have eaten the Tübingen pellets.

This figure is within a hair's breadth of Professor Schneider's target, "When three out of four foxes are immune and can no longer transmit the disease," he says, "we will have largely succeeded (in eliminating rabies)."

Isolated infected animals may remain, but the epidemic will be over in nine months, so a second dose of pellets is often all that is needed in areas where epidemics are infrequent.

Eliminating the disease is less easy in areas such as Baden-Württemberg, the Taunus, Siegerland and Westerwald regions, where fox populations are high and rabies is frequent.

In these areas pellets will be spread twice a year, in spring and autumn, for three years. Huntsmen will shoulder refrigerated bags of vaccine pellets and drop them 15 to the square kilometre in woods where foxes are known to live.

Border areas such as the 65km in Schleswig-Holstein where the Elbe is not the boundary with the GDR need special attention. Pellets will need to be laid out regularly along a cordon sanitaire to vaccinate foxes from over the border.

Last spring an observer from the GDR showed keen interest in the pellet campaign near Ratzeburg, south of Lübeck and bordering on the GDR.

He wanted to know what progress the *Länder* were making with the pellets, which cost them (and the taxpayer) roughly DM1 each.

Italy was first to experiment with the Tübingen pellets, followed last spring by Austria. Benelux and France have followed suit after initially fearing living viruses might prove a forest time bomb.

Professor Schneider is far from jubilant. "We now know we can eradicate rabies in large areas," he says, "but we don't yet know how we can keep the disease at bay when immunity wears off and infected animals bring it back."

In Bavaria he has already had to "revaccinate" a border area where rabid foxes had sneaked across from Austria.

Professor Schneider and his team have yet to consider the possible consequences of success. Foxes are adaptable and have been known to move into the suburbs.

In outer London they regularly rummage through the contents of dustbins in their quest for food.

Rabies kills up to three out of four foxes. The higher immune population could soon become mangy.

Professor Schneider feels it is hard to say what the higher population might lead to, but he will hear nothing of a hunting journal's claim that rabies is essential, keeping the fox population down by "natural" means.

The Tübingen team are no longer prepared even to discuss this line of argument. Between 1951 and 1976, they say, 13 people died of rabies in Germany: 12 in the Federal Republic and one in the GDR.

Wolfgang Feucht

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 5 October 1986)

Continued from page 10

dividual north German artists. The old adage that less would have been more springs to mind.

Thorsten Rodiek, the young director of the Kunsthalle, will have ample opportunities of holding exhibitions to expand the scope of Nannen's collection.

In the final analysis it will for him to decide what becomes of the Kunsthalle. Will it be a meeting place with new art, a living art centre, or just a provincial museum?

Asked whether he deserved thanks for setting up his museum, Nannen said he had made no sacrifices and gained more than he had given.

He would soon be 73 and couldn't take it with him when he went. Besides, he felt less at home in a house in the Bahamas than when going round Emden market on a Saturday morning.

Mariana Hanstein

(Die Welt, Bonn, 6 October 1986)

■ THE MEDIA

Gruner + Jahr launch new-look Hamburg daily to challenge Springer Group

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Hamburg publishing house Gruner + Jahr has bought the Hamburg tabloid *Morgenpost*, formerly owned by the Social Democrats, then by Swiss businessmen.

Gruner + Jahr, that includes such profit-making magazines as *Stern*, *Brigitte*, *Geo* and *Capital* in its stable, is part of the giant Bertelsmann group.

The Hamburg magazine giant recently sent out a telex to the press saying that a press conference would shortly be called to present the re-vamped Hamburg morning daily.

The reason for the haste was that the launch date of the re-vamped paper had been brought forward.

Just before this the Springer group announced that it had taken up a 49 per cent interest in the *Kieler Nachrichten*, the daily published in the nearby capital of the state of Schleswig-Holstein, Kiel.

Observers of the German press scene had been expecting this.

The deal was worthwhile, for with a circulation of 110,000 the *Kieler Nachrichten* is one of the top daily newspapers in Germany's most northerly state.

The acquisition of the Kiel paper represented a considerable increase in Springer's interests in Schleswig-Holstein, where the group already has a very solid base.

It has holdings in the *Lübecker Nachrichten*, the *Elmshorner Nachrichten*, the *Pinneberger Tageblatt* and the *Bergedorfer Zeitung*.

Furthermore the Springer Hamburg papers *Bild*, *Die Welt* and *Hamburger Abendblatt* are extensively read in Schleswig-Holstein.

To this can be added the substantial share Springer has in the new commercial radio station Radio Schleswig-Holstein (RSH).

Even before the purchase of the 49 per cent in the *Kieler Nachrichten* Springer was either directly or indirectly the largest shareholder in Radio Schleswig-Holstein and *Kieler Nachrichten* has added a further 18 per cent to its holding.

Opponents of this increase in Springer media power have turned to the Monopolies Commission in Berlin. They include the West German Journalists Association, which regards the acquisition of the holding in the Kiel newspaper by Springer as a dangerous further step in media concentration.

Björn Engholm, leader of the Schleswig-Holstein Social Democrats, has called for an amendment to monopolies legislation specifying "multi-media concentration" as undesirable.

According to Engholm large media groups are trying to create a favourable jumping-off position for themselves in future markets for commercial radio and television by buying and selling local and regional newspapers.

Springer's move into the *Kieler Nachrichten* will have scarcely any influence on the contents of the paper.

It is one of the most important conservative dailies in Schleswig-Holstein.

It is more closely linked to former Schleswig-Holstein premier (now Bonn Finance Minister) Gerhard Stoltenberg than to his successor in Kiel, Uwe Barschel.

It was obvious that Gruner + Jahr were not prepared to wait for the next Springer thrust forward. For sometime it has been rumoured that the newspaper giant was planning to publish a new newspaper in Hamburg to compete with Gruner + Jahr.

A re-vamped *Morgenpost* was to have been launched at the beginning of next year, but because of the Springer threat the launch was brought forward.

Gruner + Jahr boss Gerd Schulte-Hillen assured a press conference that fear of Springer was not the driving force for bringing the launch forward. Preparations for it had gone faster than had been originally expected.

A major pre-launch advertising campaign was dispensed with and the disadvantageous location of the editorial offices on the outskirts of the city and the early printing deadlines were retained.

Instead, the new *Morgenpost* was sold for three days for only 10 pfennigs per copy. It has since cost 50 pfennigs.

The daily will not be a direct competitor with Springer's *Bild Zeitung*. It is a peculiar mixture of magazine-type publishing with an accent on what is going on in Hamburg.

The new editor-in-chief is Jürgen Juckel, 59, formerly night editor of the Frankfurt *Abendpost*.

He said the aim was to produce a "liberal" paper in the sense that it was open to political views from all sides. Well-known commentators from all political persuasions will write for the paper.

Juckel said: "We want to penetrate an intellectual market." But spicy popular-press themes would be followed up, but in a more gentle manner than is usual with tabloids.

Events would not be blown up too much. The newspaper was aimed at the whole family and could be taken into the house without running the risk that the contents would be unsuitable for the home.

It would cling to the traditional whilst at the same time having a touch of the radical about it.

Gruner + Jahr executives expect that within three to five years the circulation will be increased from the current 150,000 to 200,000.

The format is just a little larger than A4.

Gruner + Jahr have calculated that the paper will be running in the black, concentrating in the main on Hamburg.

Springer controls 83 per cent of the daily newspaper market in Hamburg. There is keen interest in what Springer's reaction will be to the speeded-up launch.

It seems that the struggle among the giant publishing houses is going to reach new heights in the north. But the small publishing houses will have nothing to laugh about whilst this struggle is on.

Karsten Plog

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 September 1986)

Publisher Franz Burda dies at 83

Franz Burda, one of West Germany's most distinguished magazine publishers, has died in Offenburg aged 83.

Dr Burda launched his first publication in 1927. After his father's death in 1929 he took over the printing works. It then had a payroll of three.

The Burda publishing house has developed from these beginnings to a magazine empire that now employs 4,500 and had sales last year of DM984m.

Franz Burda was born in Philippsburg in 1903. He joined his father's printing works in Offenburg in 1923.

He went to university to study political science. When he had gained a doctorate he returned to the printing works to earn a qualification as a master printer.

In 1973 he brought his three sons into the management of Burda GmbH.

He constantly said that there was a great future for the printed media. "We shall find ways and means to maintain our position at the end of the 1980s in a very much changed communications industry," he said on his 80th birthday in 1983.

That was the year in which Burda took up a 24.9 per cent interest in the Axel Springer publishing house.

Up to his death Franz Burda took an active interest in the affairs of the publishing house. In 1980 the cultural magazine *Pan*, a brainchild of his, appeared.



Franz Burda (Photo: dpa)

Franz Burda and his wife Aenne were both personalities in the magazine publishing industry.

Franz Burda was the last of the pioneers who re-built the German publishing and printing industry under German management after the last war.

During his life he was given many honours. In 1950 he was made a senator of the Karlsruhe Technical University.

On his 75th birthday he was awarded the sash to the Federal Order of Merit and made an honorary professor of Vienna University.

He was also well-known as an art lover and patron of the arts.

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 1 October 1986)

Daily papers employ more despite TV

General-Anzeiger

The number of journalists in West Germany has increased, according to the president of the newspaper owners' association, Rolf Terheyden.

Speaking at the association's annual conference in Travemünde he said that there were about 25,000 journalists employed in West Germany's media, over 11,000 of them on newspapers.

There are now more people employed in the country's daily press than there were when television was introduced, Terheyden said.

Over the past ten years daily and weekly papers have increased their editorial staffs by more than 2,500.

Terheyden said: "If you want to have sophisticated journalism you have to look after the young people in the profession."

The newspaper has never before trained so many young journalists as in the past few years. Terheyden said there were currently about 1,500 under training, about 90 per cent of them on newspapers.

There has also been a large number of jobs created in the establishment and extension of reporting among commercial radio stations.

Journalists have been taken on by commercial radio stations in Schleswig-Holstein, Bavaria, Rhineland-Palatinate and newspapers that have television interests.

Terheyden confirmed that more than 500 new jobs for journalists had been created in the new media.

Otto Esser, chairman of the West German employers association, said the outlook for further growth of West German industry was good.

He based his assessment on the favourable investment situation in the country, the shift of economic buoyancy from exports to the domestic market and a continued improvement in the labour market.

He said that conditions were such that a continued drop in unemployment could be expected.

The extent to which unemployment would continue to decline and the extent to which the difference between supply and demand on the labour market could be overcome depended on continued economic growth.

Down south unemployment had in some places been almost eliminated whilst in the north the drop in the jobless number was sluggish.

Welcoming West German newspaper owners to Travemünde the premier of Schleswig-Holstein, Uwe Barschel (CDU), said that the West German newspaper industry would withstand the challenge of the new media.

He based his view on the fact that over the past ten years daily newspaper circulations had not been reduced. Indeed readers have shown an increasing interest in local news.

Furthermore newspaper publishing houses had introduced many innovations fundamentally changing newspaper production.

Newspapers now met people's demands for information more appropriately than any other of the media.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 1 October 1986)

■ WOMEN

Prostitutes list their grievances

"West Germany seems to be a very tolerant country as regards prostitution, but that does not mean it's paradise," said Pieke Biermann, the West German representative to the Second Prostitutes Conference in Brussels.

The Conference, organised by Green and Alternative Party MEPs and the Committee for the Rights of Prostitutes, produced a circular letter for health authorities in West Germany and Berlin. In it the organisers expressed surprise that health safeguards for prostitutes were applied by compulsory health examinations rather than through the use of condoms.

The congress also called upon West Germany to abolish restricted zones in cities.

Feminist organisations were called upon to support prostitutes' demands for social security, the right to bring up their children, protection by the police and the courts against rape as with other women and the dismantling of all special regulations concerning prostitutes.

The conference in effect re-echoed the points made in the World Charter for the Rights of Prostitutes drawn up in Amsterdam last year.

It was then decided that prostitutes "should pay taxes on the same basis as other self-employed people."

There were differences of opinion among the women taking part in the conference, however, on this and the subject of compulsory insurance contributions.

The conference called for severe punishments for persons who forced girls and adolescents into prostitution.

In addition rehabilitation courses were demanded for drug-addicts and re-training programmes for prostitutes who wanted to get out of the profession.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 October 1986)

Streetwalkers of the world hog limelight in Brussels

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The Second International Prostitutes Conference took place in Brussels at the invitation of Green members of the European Parliament.

It was attended by 180 prostitutes from 16 countries.

Only Green members of the European Parliament were associated with the Brussels conference; the rest of the Strasbourg Parliament kept its distance.

Two MEPs from puritanical Britain protested, unsuccessfully, about the unwanted guests in the Parliament building in Brussels' rue Belliard.

The conference took place behind closed doors with only the Greens and their associates in the Alternative Party invited to attend.

A member of the Greens' office staff in Brussels complained that the media had never before taken so much interest in the activities of the party in the European Parliament.

His office door was blocked by radio journalists with recorders at the ready to tape interviews and by cameramen and sound technicians from television stations. Telephones jangled whilst reporters swopped tips with one another.

Correspondents from Ankara, Copenhagen and New York, normally unaware that a European Parliament existed, stood in a queue round the desk of the Greens' parliamentary party spokesman seeking an interview.

A small group of Asian girls tripped daintily through all this noisy chaos.

With some irritation a member of the European Parliament secretariat said: "We are getting calls from all over the world." But the European Parliament has nothing to do with the conference.

A spokesman for the Parliament's secretariat said that parties in the Parliament could invite whoever they wanted. As he said this he looked on the milling crowd of pressmen with mixed feelings.

Peeping Toms at this conference would have only partly got their money's worth. Few of the women were conspicuously dressed or made up.

A third of them — only a few men were allowed to attend — were doctors, social workers, sociologists and politicians (all female, of course), involved in prostitutes' rights.

There was nothing unusual, for instance, about Maria from Stuttgart, 22, pale, not made-up and wearing a silk overall suit. She did not look any different from others of the same age who are studying, or working as secretaries or accounts clerks.

When she spoke about her profession you would notice that she observed the world around her in a very commonsense way. Her experiences had given her considerable insight into men.

She has been working in the profession for the past three years and she wants to see that something is done in Brussels to "de-criminalise" prostitution.

She said: "For me this is a job, just like any other."

She has joined a Stuttgart women's group that struggles for prostitutes' rights and fights against the harassment prostitutes are subjected to by the police and officialdom.

Maria said that she had come to Brussels to find out more from other women who followed the same profession.

She said: "You feel strange here at first when you are here for the first time, but not so much as with other people" — meaning non-prostitutes.

Maria earns a lot of money. She said: "I'm dear." And she has no trouble with pimps. She said: "Pimps do not venture to interfere with a woman who has her wits about her."

Maria was educated at high school and was able to talk to her colleagues at the Brussels conference in English and French.

She takes a contrary view to the conference organisers about pimps and believes that they should be severely punished and that prostitutes should be given better protection from their so-called "protectors."

She said: "If a woman gives evidence against a pimp, who is then all too often released from remand prison or given a light sentence, then the woman needs either a cosmetic surgeon or a coffin maker."

Maria knows the risks of her profession. "If you are not emotionally stable in this job you will go mad." She does not dream the dream of a home and family.

She wants to carry on so long as she feels inclined to do so. She wants to change the conditions surrounding her profession, not the profession itself.

Like all her colleagues in Brussels she supports the World Charter for the Rights of Prostitutes, drawn up at the First International Prostitutes Conference in Amsterdam last year.

The Charter called for "the de-criminalisation of adult prostitution entered into by individual choice."

The Dutch communist MEP Nel van Dejk who, as part of the Greens-Alternative Party group in the European Parliament has assisted with setting up the prostitutes conference, wants to go further.

She wants to abolish punishment for pimping which, she believes, will make it easier to separate prostitution from the criminal element.

She was unable to say how the exploitation of prostitutes by pimps could then be avoided.

Maria from Stuttgart, who seemed a particularly self-assured member of the profession, said that she believed she was strong enough not to fall prey to the criminal world.

She is self-assured and sufficiently feminist in outlook to disregard the scorn society casts on her.

She believes that discrimination against women who are prostitutes cannot be overcome by changing a few laws and regulations. Nevertheless things would be in some respects improved.

She said: "If men were not brought up in such an emotional mess there would be no need for prostitution."

There seemed to be considerable fear among prostitutes about society's scorn, police harassment and revenge by pimps, even among those who were obviously prepared to do something about the situation in public and travel to Brussels to try and get something done about their rights.

Thomas Gack

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 October 1986)

Happy on their own at home

Women prefer to be at home alone occasionally and they know what to do with themselves better than men when alone, according to a survey conducted by the women's magazine *Brigitte*.

Of the 1,000 women and men questioned for the survey by the Sample Institute, Mölln, 80 per cent of women and 70 per cent of the men said that they preferred to have an hour or two at home alone.

When such an opportunity occurs women like to read most of all or get on with their household chores. Half the women in the survey said they enjoyed settling down with a book or a magazine on a free rainy Saturday afternoon.

Men prefer to watch television and ignore the vacuum cleaner and the saucepans.

Television came second among the women (49 per cent), then listening to stereo music (43 per cent).

Men prefer television most of all — 56 per cent listed the box as their means of relaxation.

Then they like listening to classical or pop music (45 per cent) or turning to the printed word (44 per cent).

Both sexes like to be idle for a time. About a third of those questioned in the survey preferred to have nothing to do at all on such an afternoon. Many took a nap.

One in five of the women questioned enjoyed a bath, but only nine per cent of the men.

Women seemed to have the most talent for knowing what to do with their leisure time.

One in four women would tidy up the living-room, but only one in ten of the men.

Sixteen per cent would turn to a cookbook and the saucepans, but only four per cent of the males.

Thirteen per cent of the women claimed they would do some housework, but only three per cent of the men.

More men would mess about in the garden (17 per cent) than women (13 per cent).

Knitting was the choice for leisure time for 43 per cent of the women, and 14 per cent confessed they liked to make long telephone calls.

Six per cent of the men like to chatter away on the phone.

The survey showed that ten per cent of the men drowned their loneliness with alcoholic drinks, but only two per cent of the women.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 3 October 1986)

Miss Right must be faithful and not snore

The West German male's ideal woman must be faithful and not snore, according to a survey by the German-language edition of *Playboy*.

More than 12,400 readers' replies were assessed by the magazine.

Those who sent back reports said that their ideal woman "should on no account" take hard drugs (96.2 per cent), belong to a sect (83.7 per cent), be unfaithful (72.9 per cent), take part in a pornographic film (68.2 per cent), be a shoplifter (67.3 per cent), drink (53.3 per cent) or snore (46.5 per cent).

But only six per cent held anything against women who wore glasses and 4.2 per cent were against women who knitted. Only 0.8 per cent of those who replied said that their ideal woman should not be a book-reader.

The survey revealed a lot about what West German men expect from their women.

Asked what hobbies they would want their partners to pursue, 80.7 per cent listed listening to music, but only 10.3 per cent were in favour of their partners making music themselves.

The list of hobbies included travel (70.9 per cent) and going out to eat (70.8 per cent), which almost equalled cooking (66.1 per cent).

The survey showed that the German male, despite many critics, is no longer a "male chauvinist pig."

Only 3.4 per cent said that the male should have the last word in any discussion, whilst 86.7 per cent said that couples should talk matters over together.

Naturally the *Playboy* survey touched on how women should be in matters sexual. Seventy-nine per cent said the woman should be tender and 74.9 per cent passionate.

Not every woman is able to measure up to these demands, but "with certain limitations" 48.9 per cent of the men said that their current partner was their "ideal woman."

dpa

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